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# WHAT SHALL THE RATIO BE?

## THE QUESTION OF THE CONFERENCE.

BY SENATOR STEWART, OF NEVADA; REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM M. SPRINGER, OF ILLINOIS, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS; SENATOR H. C. HANSBOROUGH, OF NORTH DAKOTA; REPRESENTATIVE R. P. BLAND, OF MISSOURI; AND REPRESENTATIVE JOHN DALZELL, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

SENATOR STEWART:

THE inadequate supply of gold creates alarm. The increasing purchasing power of money is destruction to the debtor. Fear of universal bankruptcy or repudiation disturbs the repose of the Shylocks. Falling prices discourage enterprise.

The demonetization of silver narrowed the basis of the circulating medium of the commercial world fully one-half. The use of gold alone for final payment reduces silver to credit money, the same as paper. Demonetization of silver forces ruinous competition to obtain gold, enhances the value of the metal, and reduces the price of property and services. The leading nations of the commercial world compel payment in gold. There is not gold enough for all. Only the fittest can survive.

Austria shrinks from the contest to resume payment in gold. The recent demand that she should buy $200,000,000 of gold for the purpose in hand could not be resisted, but the attempt to carry it into effect threatened the bankruptcy of the other creditors of the gold combination. They have given Austria a respite while



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they enforce payment from weak debtors, reduce credits, and enlarge their securities. When that is done Austria must buy over five per cent. of the gold of the world at whatever cost it may require. Nothing but determined opposition can prevent the gold combination from continuing to exact harder terms until the power of resistance is exhausted, the narrow gold basis established throughout the world, and all men made tributary to the wealth and power of the controllers of gold.

It is natural for politicians to depend upon the gods of avarice for support. They endure with fortitude injustice to the people while the instruments of that injustice are concealed. The fear of detection and the irritation which extortion creates are their only restraints. When rebellion is threatened; party leaders seek refuge in falsehood and subterfuge. The devoted and most faithful agents of the gold-trust in political life dare not confess that they are in favor of the destruction of silver as money; but they ostentatiously declare themselves bimetallists while they secretly conspire to destroy the money function of silver. Their success in deceiving the people by false promises has inspired them with contempt for the intelligence of the masses.

The device of an international monetary conference has been the most successful fraud. Of the two conferences, one was held in 1878, the other in 1881. Both secured the object designed—delay. A general election is pending in Great Britain and in the United States. The silver question is a disturbing element in both countries. Another conference is proposed. Any evidence that side-tracking the silver question is not the only result intended would be gratifying.

It would be interesting to know by what authority of law the conference will be held. Has any government to be represented signified, by proper authority, that its mints will be opened to the free coinage of silver upon any conditions whatever? Why are all the preliminary negotiations relating to the proposed conference confined within the golden circle? What questions are to be discussed? Is the United States further to be humiliated by submitting its right to coin money according to the constitution to a European conference of money-lenders?

The United States demonetized silver six months in advance of any government of continental Europe. The suggestion that the legislation of 1873 was secured by fraud does not alter the

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case. The fact that the United States took the lead in that robbery is undisputed. Why should not this government lead in restoring the money function to silver?

The only question which affords an excuse for an international agreement is the ratio. A common ratio between the gold and the silver coins of the commercial nations might facilitate exchanges. But why call a conference for that purpose until the countries to participate therein have decided to open their mints to the coinage of silver for depositors of bullion? When the several governments have agreed to coin silver, a common ratio for such coinage will be readily established. The interest of all concerned will require that ratio to be about 15½ of silver to 1 of gold.

The silver coin of the United States contains more silver in proportion to the gold in the gold coin than the silver coin of any other country in the world, except Mexico. Our ratio is 16 of silver to 1 of gold. The ratio in Europe is 15½ of silver to 1 of gold, and the ratio of India is about 15 of silver to 1 of gold. Europe has about $1,100,000,000 of silver coin. She would lose over 3 per cent., or something over $33,000,000, by recoining her legal-tender silver at our ratio. India has about $900,000,000 of silver coin. She would lose about 7 per cent., or about $63,000,000, by recoining it at our ratio. We have about $500,000,000 of silver coin, which, if recoined on the European ratio, would give us a gain of about 3 per cent., amounting to about $15,000,000. There is about $3,900,000,000 of silver coin in the world.

Any increase in the quantity of silver in the coinage as compared with gold would decrease the volume of silver coin. If a ratio of twenty to one should be established for the recoinage of $3,900,000,000 of silver, it would involve a loss of more than $1,000,000,000. Fifteen and one-half to one is about the natural ratio. As nearly as can be ascertained, the weight of the stock of silver of the world is about fifteen and one-half times the weight of the gold. Besides, any considerable increase in the weight of silver coin would make it too heavy and inconvenient for use. No honest bimetallist would consent to a change of the present ratio of the United States, except to adopt the European ratio of fifteen and a half to one.

Whatever international ratio might be established, the parity

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of the two metals would be maintained at that ratio. Neither gold nor silver would then be the standard for measurement of value, but the dollar, the franc, or the pound, would be the unit of account and the standard. The fact that the money unit was manufactured of gold or of silver would make no difference. The material required to make a dollar, whether it were silver or gold, would have the same commercial value, and that is why the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver has always maintained the parity in value of the two metals at the ratio established by law.

I do not desire to impugn the motives of the administration in its efforts for a monetary conference. I hope it is not playing into the hands of the gold combination. But secrecy is not a badge of honesty. The character of the delegates will furnish much light. Any man who argues that silver is a burden to be unloaded on some other country, and not a blessing to be coined into money in this country, is an enemy of free coinage. The appointment of such a man will be evidence of bad faith.

WM. M. STEWART.

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REPRESENTATIVE SPRINGER:

THE silver question will not down. The House of Representatives at Washington spent weeks in its discussion, and the Senate has taken it up, to the exclusion of the tariff and all other subjects. The President has called an international conference to secure, if possible, an international agreement in reference to silver coinage.

The only international agreement in reference to gold and silver coins which has been entered into heretofore, is known as the Latin Union. It took effect August 1, 1866. The nations which entered into this union at that time were France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland; but Greece and Roumania entered the association in April, 1867. This union was for the purpose of regulating "the weight, title, form and circulation of their gold and silver coins." The ratio of full legal tender of silver and gold was fixed at one of gold to fifteen and a half of silver.

The contracting governments bound themselves not to coin, or permit to be coined, any gold or silver pieces other than those provided for in the treaty. The gold coins were pieces containing 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 francs, and the silver coins were to be

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of the denomination of one, two and five francs, and of twenty and fifty centimes. The silver coins were to be of full legal-tender to the amount of fifty francs between individuals of the State in which they were issued, but the nation issuing them was to receive them to any amount. It was agreed that the amount of silver coins of the one and two-franc pieces and the twenty and fifty-centime pieces should be limited to an amount not exceeding six francs to each inhabitant. Coins already in circulation were to be maintained in proportions fixed in the treaty.

This treaty of 1865 was to remain in force until January 1, 1880. If not repealed it was to continue in force for an additional fifteen years, and so on until repealed.

A supplementary treaty was entered into by the same nations in 1874, by which the coinage of five-franc pieces was limited for that year in each government to a given amount, and a similar limitation was made for 1875 and 1876; and in 1877 the coinage of five-franc pieces was suspended except as to Italy. In 1878 the same nations renewed their monetary treaty. The governments of Spain, Holland, Russia, and the Central and South American States, have established the same ratio between gold and silver—that of 1 to 15½.

In Great Britain the ratio of limited coinage is that of 1 to 14.28, in Germany the ratio is that of 1 to 13.957. In Mexico the full legal-tender ratio of the coinage is that of 1 to 16½. In the United States the ratio is that of 1 to 16. In Japan it is 1 to 16.16; in India it is 1 to 15.

The ratio between gold and silver adopted by the various nations differs so little that a uniform ratio could be established with but little inconvenience. Now that the ratio of the Latin Union has been adopted by so many of the leading nations of the earth, it is not unreasonable to insist that that ratio should be accepted by other nations.

An international agreement fixing this ratio, if adopted by the United States, England, Germany and Mexico, in addition to the nations which have already adopted it, would secure in a very short time a universal acquiescence in this ratio. In that event the United States could recoin all its silver pieces and make a profit by the operation. On every 15½ ounces of silver in the new coins the government would receive a bonus of one-half ounce. Our dollar would then be equal to five francs of the Latin Union.

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A limited agreement of this kind would greatly facilitate commercial transactions, and simplify and unify the coinage of all nations entering into the agreement. If a limited agreement of this kind could be made and put into practical operation, there is every reason to believe that more liberal provisions looking to a larger use of silver could be secured in the future. In the course of time free and unlimited coinage would, in all probability, be adopted by the leading commercial nations. Those who desire to accomplish free coinage must realize that complete success cannot be expected immediately. There is so much prejudice or misapprehension on the subject that international agreements establishing fixed ratios and uniform and unlimited coinage will be entered upon, if at all, with great hesitation. This fact, however, should not deter those who desire the utilization of both metals to the greatest extent possible from favoring every effort to bring about international monetary conferences. If complete success is not at first accomplished, partial success may be ; and partial success, to the extent of securing the provisions of the Latin Union for all great commercial nations, is attainable and may be secured at the first conference which may be held.

It is evident that, unless earnest effort is made, no agreement can be secured ; and, as an advocate of bimetallism, I favor every reasonable effort that can be put forth, which looks to the greater utilization of both metals. I favor especially an international monetary congress, to be held in the United States at the earliest time practicable ; and any and all conferences whose object it may be to secure the coöperation of the great commercial nations in this matter.

WILLIAM M. SPRINGER.

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SENATOR HANSBROUGH :

WHEN the civilized nations of the world shall have been placed upon an equality with each other as to a monetary medium, the political patents now running upon the use of such expressions as "gold bugs" and "silver kings" will have expired, and bimetallism will prevail.

What is needed, in my opinion, is an established relationship between gold and silver—say 16 to 1 in all the gold-union nations, with the positive understanding that such relationship is not to be disturbed except by the unanimous consent of the interested

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powers. An international monetary agreement is the only means by which this result can be reached.

For fifty years, at least, there has been a strong tendency towards what may be termed a universal currency. The effects of the operations of the old colonial and subsequent State-banking systems may be cited in confirmation of this proposition. In colonial times the paper-currency pound sterling in Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, and Florida, was worth $3.33, while New York currency was worth but $2.50. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland the value of the paper pound was $2.70, while in the current issues of the "realms" of Georgia and South Carolina it was worth $4.20. The inequality in subsidiary currency was proportionately great. Then came the State-banking system, with its "wild-cat" issues, and the ludicrous attempts of a dozen State legislatures to deal with the currency question, each after its own original plan.

The commercial bonds are much closer between the civilized nations of the earth at the present time than they were between the States of the Union a hundred years ago, and therefore the argument in favor of an international money with a uniform ratio is much stronger. The superiority of national management of the finances over State management has long been recognized and admitted. The efficacy of international management must be apparent to all.

Statute laws in one country fixing the value of a money metal that circulates and has a different coinage value in another must result in financial and commercial confusion to both. The commercial disasters and business uncertainties so prevalent in the United States during the days of independent State-bank money issues may be taken as a fair example of what may be expected if the great nations of the earth continue to pursue independent policies with respect to the ratio and fineness of their respective metallic moneys or to the use of the product of their respective mines.

It was not so much the fear that silver would become dangerously cheap, owing to the increased production, the discovery of new mines and the improved methods of mining and smelting, that caused the European nations to begin the hoarding of gold by adopting the gold standard and closing their mints to the white metal, as it was their apprehension that the United States was about to adopt the silver standard on its own account. This fact

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is fairly illustrated in recent trade statistics. For the nine months ending March 31, 1892, the balance of trade in merchandise was $209,373,803 in our favor. Logically, $209,373,803 in money should have come back to us from the purchasing nations, but as a matter of fact we received but $16,253,765 in actual money. The difference of $193,120,038 consisted chiefly of American securities which the foreigner preferred to part with rather than give up his gold, which he believes will go to a premium should the United States venture, alone, upon free coinage of silver. That he would also ship his silver to this country is proven by the fact that while the silver bullion act of 1890 (the present law) was under discussion and in process of enactment by the Fifty-first Congress our imports of silver were greater than our exports by $8,000,000.

It is contended by the advocates of a free silver coinage law for the United States alone that "the people want more money," *i. e.*, a greater per capita circulation. There is some truth in this seductive and "catching" argument. If the per capita circulation of the world should be increased—and it will be increased when the gold-union nations adopt bimetallism, which they eventually must do—the people *would* have more money. On the other hand, should the United States, by act of Congress, obligate itself to pay $1.29 per ounce for silver, which is now worth but 90 cents per ounce in the markets of the world, our per capita circulation, while it would be increased to a slight extent by reason of the free coinage of silver, would be decreased by the exact amount of gold that must inevitably take itself abroad to do service among the nations now operating upon the gold standard. In the face of the fact that during the past two and a half years we have exported $320,000,000 of merchandise in excess of the amount imported and should therefore have received that amount of money from our foreign customers, we have also exported $75,000,000 of gold in excess of our gold imports; in all $395,000,000 in wealth sent abroad in the regular course of trade, for which there is no return—an amount equal to about $6 per capita of our population, which is quite as much as would have been added to our money circulation had we purchased and coined, at $1.29 per ounce, the entire world's output of silver for the same period. This per capita circulation question will admit of considerable investigation. It is one thing to make money and another to keep it.

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Gold and silver have been the money mediums of the people for thousands of years; so will they ever remain. They cannot and should not be retired,—neither of them. International regulation is the true remedy. The present financial evils are not peculiar to any particular nation; they exist in all. There is sufficient gold and silver in the world to furnish the basis of a healthy international money circulation. The necessity for inflation does not exist.

It seems to be the settled policy of this country at this time, and of other countries as well, that there shall be an international conference to consider the money question, not from the narrow standpoint of sectional or community interests, but upon the broader plane of international benefit, which will be lasting in its effects. The object to be attained is to secure an agreement in favor of bimetallism in all the countries represented; no other conclusion can be reached. International free coinage of both gold and silver is the end in view; nothing less will be accepted as a final settlement of the question. A failure on the part of the Conference to recommend this as the common policy, or the failure of the conferring powers to recognize such recommendation by prompt and appropriate legislation, would simply relegate the whole question back to individual governments to be dealt with as a matter of local concern; and the result, especially in the United States, is easily foretold. Unlimited free coinage of silver, with such ratio or other regulations as the extremists might determine upon, would be authorized by law. One enthusiastic free-coinage advocate has said that the ratio should be 10 to 1; it has not been below 14.14 to 1 in two hundred years.

I have no doubt that the President will appoint as representatives of the United States in the forthcoming Conference gentlemen of distinguished ability and conservative judgment. There is no reason why the representatives of other nations taking part in the Conference should not be equally distinguished and conservative, and as all shades of opinion on financial questions are likely to be represented there is every probability that a satisfactory solution will be reached.

H. C. HANSBROUGH.

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REPRESENTATIVE BLAND:

WHERE the double or bimetallic standard exists or is contemplated, the question of the ratio is of vital importance.

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There is no disagreement upon the proposition that this ratio shall have reference to the relative commercial or exchange value of the two metals. The commercial or exchange value being controlled by the laws of different nations, the ratio established by the various governments where gold and silver are coined at a fixed ratio must be considered as the ultimate controlling factor in agreeing upon the ratio. Measures to the end of reaching this ratio enter at this time largely into the discussion. Informed readers need not be reminded of the fact that, for nearly one hundred years, the commercial or exchange value of gold and silver was at about the ratio of 1 of gold to 15½ of silver, or that the ratio adopted by France in 1803 was one pound of gold to fifteen and one-half pounds of silver the world over. So long as France maintained an open mint for the free coinage and exchange of these two metals at the ratio of 15½ to 1, this ratio was the absolute regulator of the exchange value of the two metals till in 1875, for reasons well known and to be hereinafter referred to, France suspended the free coinage of silver.

This country and Germany having previously, in 1873, suspended the coinage of silver, there were no longer any open mints of any great metallic power to take the place of France in the free exchange of gold and silver at a fixed ratio. England has been upon the single gold standard since 1816. A very brief historical review of our own currency laws and of those of the other nations named is essential to a fair and intelligent understanding of this matter.

One hundred years ago this country, by the act of April 2, 1792, adopted the double or bimetallic standard. Section 9 of this act provided for the dollar as follows: "Dollars or units each to be of the value of the Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current, and to contain 371$\frac{4}{16}$ grains of pure or 416 grains of standard silver." This is the dollar we now coin, the pure silver of which has never been changed. The changing of the alloy accounts for our dollar of 412½ grains of standard silver. This Spanish milled dollar had been current in the colonies, and was still our principal coin when the first mint act was passed.

On a test of these coins current it was found that they contained on the average about 371¼ grains of pure silver; hence this was fixed upon as the most equitable standard.

The silver dollar being established for the unit of value, the gold coins were to conform to the silver unit at the ratio of 15 to

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1 as provided in Sec. 11 of the act as follows: "That the proportional value of gold to silver in all coins which, by law, shall be current as money in the United States, shall be as 15 to 1, according to quantity in weight of pure gold and pure silver. That is to say, every 15 pounds weight of pure silver shall be of equal value, in all payments, with one pound weight of pure gold, and so in proportion as to any greater or less quantities of the respective metals."

Eleven years later France decreed the bimetallic standard at the ratio of 15½ to 1, thus giving to gold a value relative to silver greater than our ratio. France at that time being a greater nation commercially than ours, and her mints being contiguous to the nations of the old world, she was enabled to fix the value of the two metals at her ratio, and the facts of history show beyond dispute that the two metals remained practically at this ratio the world over so long as France continued the free coinage of both metals, or until 1875, when she discontinued the free coinage of silver, as before stated. During this period Germany had changed from the single gold standard to the silver standard, and again from the single silver standard to the gold standard. Alarmed at the demonetization of silver in this country and in Germany in 1873, France broke the bimetallic par by discontinuing the free coinage of silver. Had France continued the unlimited coinage of silver, there is no question or doubt that silver and gold the world over would be interchangeable to-day at the ratio of 15½ to 1.

It is then clear that our government is primarily responsible for the present silver situation. We took the lead in the demonetization of the metal and must take the lead in its restoration. By the laws of 1834 and 1837 our ratio was changed from 15 to 1 to 15 98-100ths, or 16 to 1; it was really the amount of gold in the dollar that was changed and not the silver in the silver dollar, thus giving a higher value to gold at our mints than the French 15½ to 1. It is said this was done for the purpose of attracting gold hither to aid in supplanting the national bank-note; gold being more convenient for payment in large transactions than silver, it would more readily take the place of bank-notes. Had our statesmen at that time hit upon our present device of gold and silver notes, bank paper could have been displaced by the silver certificates as is now being done by us. The fact, how-

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ever, that we changed our ratio in 1834 and 1837, and the further fact that Germany changed from the gold to the silver standard in 1857, made no perceptible impression upon the effects of the French bimetallic law.

The two metals still retained their relative commercial value at about 15½ to 1, thus conclusively proving that so long as one of the great metallic powers of the world kept open mints for the coinage of both metals at a ratio approximating the relative amount of the two metals per weight existing as money in the world, an open mint for the coinage and exchange of the two metals at such rates was all-powerful as a regulator of the relative value of these two money metals. In the light of this historical fact, why deny that the United States, the greatest nation in the world, the greatest metallic power in the world, may by her open mints successfully take the place of France in monetary history, and by open mints become the practical regulator of the relative value of these two money metals? In reality we are a republic consisting of forty-four sovereign States, with territory sufficient for four or five more independent States, with a population of sixty-five million people, and increasing at the rate of over one million annually, with the probability of reaching nearly one hundred millions of people before the boy now born can legally cast his first ballot.

We have a territory of three million square miles. The single State of Texas is larger in area than the whole of France. The intelligence of the people and the vast resources and productive power of the country have no parallel in history. All things considered, we are greater in resources and progressive development than France, England and Germany combined. Our pressing monetary needs demand a volume of money that cannot be compared to these over-developed countries of the old world.

Standing among the nations of the world as a giant among pygmies, why should we ask the aid or advice of baby England, baby Germany, or lilliputian France, in establishing for ourselves a bimetallic system based upon the ratio, or nearly upon the ratio, at which France successfully maintained the bimetallic par for over seventy years and up to the day of her hasty action of discontinuing free coinage of silver.

In adopting a ratio for ourselves, or by concurrent action of other nations, the ratio of 15½, or our own ratio of 16, should be

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selected. First, Because it is the ratio, or it approaches the ratio, that has existed in the commercial world for centuries, and at which the coined gold and coined silver of the nations circulate at par in the countries where coined. Secondly, This is about the average ratio at which the nations of the world coin gold and silver into legal-tender money. Thirdly, It is near the relative amount in weight of the existing coined stock of the two metals.

The director of the mint gives the amount of gold money in the world at $3,711,845,000, of silver at $3,939,578,000. Of this amount in silver he estimates $544,166,000 to be subsidiary or limited tender. This estimate is made upon the nominal value of the silver coins at the ratio or coining value of silver in the different countries where the stocks of silver money exist. Hence the average of full legal-tender for silver would be about 15½ in weight of silver to 1 of gold. The limited-tender or fractional silver would be about 14 of silver to 1 of gold, so that it is apparent that the amount of silver money in the world is about 15½ times as great for weight of metals as that of gold. If we take the product of gold from 1873 to 1891 as shown by the director of the mint last winter in hearings before our Coinage Committee of the House of Representatives, we find the product of gold in fine ounces to be about 98,606,925, and that of silver to be 1,512,174,000 in fine ounces. This shows a ratio of production per weight in fine ounces of about 15½ of silver to 1 of gold. The facts above show that of the gold and silver money throughout the world the ratio per weight of metal is about 15½ to 1. The product from 1873 to the present time is about 15½ ounces of silver to 1 of gold—so that 15½ seems to be near the natural ratio.

The fact that for the last four or five years the annual product of silver at this ratio has been greater than the product of gold does not militate against the argument. A series of years should be taken. The mines may in a short time show a greater product of gold than of silver. Even the occurrence of a disproportional product of one or the other of these metals for a series of years, as, for instance, of gold in excess of silver during the large output of California and Australia, fails to disturb the par of 15½. The annual product constitutes too small a per cent. of the vast stock of the metals on hand to cause any perceptible fluctuations in values.

The equity of contracts the world over demands 15½ or 16 as

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the ratio, since the coined silver money of the world rests at about these rates, and debts of the world were and are contracted to be paid on this basis: it would be a robbery of debtors to demand more silver in the dollar. It would be unjust to debtors as well as to the welfare of future generations to limit the monetary functions of silver by increasing the amount of silver in the dollar.

To first demonetize silver for the purpose of precipitating a rise in gold as compared with silver, and to seize upon this flagrant wrong as an excuse for readjusting the ratio in the interest of the money-lenders of the present and the Shylocks of the future ought not to be tolerated.

The late Secretary Windom, on page 73 of his report for 1887, well remarks in this connection: "The paramount objection to this plan, however, is that it would have a decided tendency to prevent any rise in the value of silver. Seizing it at its present low price, the law would in effect declare that it must remain there forever, so far as its uses for coinage are concerned."

R. P. BLAND.

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REPRESENTATIVE DALZELL:

IF THE leading monetary powers of the world shall enter into an agreement for the coining of both silver and gold without restriction, and for making them severally, or jointly, full legal-tender for the payment of all debts, the practical business question is, what shall be the ratio?

The question of the relations of the precious metals to each other and to commerce is recognized as a difficult one, about which it is wise not to hazard any too positive opinion.

The question as to an international ratio is very different from the question as to a ratio for the establishment of bimetallism in one country alone. In the determination of the latter question, the existing gold price of silver would be a material factor, while in the determination of the former it is not of so much importance.

Prior to 1873 the commercial ratio of silver to gold maintained a remarkable uniformity. Up to that year from the beginning of the Christian era the points of variance were at the one extreme 14.40 of silver to 1 of gold, and at the other 16.25 of silver to 1 of gold. From the time when France, in 1803, began the free coinage of gold and silver at a ratio of 15½ to 1,

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until 1873, when silver was demonetized by Germany, and its coinage restricted by the Latin Union, the relative value of gold and silver in use in Europe did not vary appreciably from the ratio fixed by French law.

In the United States the legal ratio was fixed at first at 15 to 1, and subsequently at 16 to 1. But in 1873 a change ensued. Between that date and the present the relative commercial value of silver to gold has varied from 15.92 to 1 in the former year to 20.92 to 1 in 1891.

"The great underlying cause of the decline in the price of silver," says Mr. Leech, Director of the Mint, "has been very accurately and concisely summed up in the report of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver, 1888:

> "The action of the Latin Union in 1873 broke the link between silver and gold which had kept the former, as measured by the latter, constant at about the legal ratio; and when this link was broken, the silver market was open to the influences of all the factors which go to effect the price of *a commodity*. These factors happen, since 1873, to have operated in the direction of a fall in the gold price of that metal."

It would appear, then, that the practical fixity of the relative value of gold and silver at a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 from 1803 to 1873 was due principally to legislation, and that the separation of the metals thereafter in relative value was likewise due in largest part to legislation. The proposition that an international agreement shall be made to reëstablish bimetallism is a practical concession to that effect, since its purpose is to restore, if possible, the "broken link."

The link that bound gold and silver together as money was a law (or an agreement equivalent thereto) that the coinage of both should be free at a fixed ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. The action that broke that link, and destroyed that heretofore existing monetary equilibrium between the metals, was the repeal in practice of the operation of that law. Would not a re-enactment of the law in its entirety by international agreement restore the link and with it the old-time monetary situation? In other words, is not either the French or the American ratio—a ratio heretofore proven practicable of maintenance by experience—the true one to be returned to?

If it be assumed that the relative value of the two metals depends more than anything else on their value for the purposes of money as fixed by law it would seem that the strongest argu-

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ment exists for the adoption of one or other of these ratios. All the world's experience has demonstrated that the true ratio lies somewhere in the neighborhood of the French or the American, and between them there is not any fundamental difference. If the choice be limited to these two the French ratio would seem to be preferable.

The demonetization of silver did not take from the world's circulation the silver coinage. Silver has been coined since and at the same ratio. It is estimated that there are, in round numbers, $1,000,000,000 of European silver in use as money at the ratio of 15½ to 1. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury shows our stock of silver to have been on Nov. 1, 1891, $539,241,624, coined or to be coined at the ratio of 16 to 1.

Now, bimetallism is a desideratum because of the growing need of money in the world's constantly increasing commerce. Any change in the ratio towards cheapening the gold price of silver must result in contraction of the world's currency and defeat to that extent the object sought to be obtained by an international conference. The adoption of the ratio of 16 to 1, instead of 15½ to 1 for instance, would make a difference of 3 per cent. in the aggregate of European silver ; that is to say, the European stock when recoined, as it would have to be, would lose from its aggregate currency value $33,000,000, and there would be the cost of recoinage in addition.

The adoption of the ratio of 15½ to 1, on the other hand, would be, *ipso facto*, a remonetization of the entire European stock of silver. True, the adoption of this ratio would necessitate the recoinage of the American stock, but the margin between its legal ratio 16 to 1, and the French ratio 15½ to 1, amounting to 3 per cent., would suffice to pay the cost of recoinage.

As the United States are the largest silver producers in the world, it goes without saying that the French ratio would suit their material interests better than the ratio now in use by themselves. The objections that could be urged to any particular ratio that may be suggested may be conceded to be numerous; in other words, bimetallism can only be established internationally in the face of opposition and by mutual concessions on the part of its friends; but it is to be hoped that such concessions may be made and that the cause may triumph at whatever figure the ratio may be fixed.

JOHN DALZELL.

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# LYNCH LAW IN THE SOUTH.

BY THE HON. FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

THE frequent and increasing resort to lynch law in our Southern States, in dealing with alleged offences by negroes, marked as it is by features of cruelty which might well shock the sensibility of the most benighted savage, will not fail to attract the attention and animadversion of visitors to the World's Columbian Exposition.

Think of an American woman, in this year of grace 1892, mingling with a howling mob, and with her own hand applying the torch to the fagots around the body of a negro condemned to death without a trial, and without judge or jury, as was done only a few weeks ago in the so-called civilized State of Arkansas.

When all lawful remedies for the prevention of crime have been employed and have failed; when criminals administer the law in the interest of crime; when the government has become a foul and damning conspiracy against the welfare of society; when men guilty of the most infamous crimes are permitted to escape with impunity; when there is no longer any reasonable ground upon which to base a hope of reformation, there is at least an apology for the application of lynch law; but, even in this extremity, it must be regarded as an effort to neutralize one poison by the employment of another. Certain it is that in no tolerable condition of society can lynch law be excused or defended. Its presence is either an evidence of governmental depravity, or of a demoralized state of society. It is generally in the hands of the worst class of men in the community, and is enacted under the most degrading and blinding influences. To break down the doors of jails, wrench off the iron bars of the cells, and in the dark hours of midnight drag out alleged criminals, and to shoot, hang, or burn them to death, requires preparation imparted by copious



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draughts of whiskey, which leave the actors without inclination or ability to judge of the guilt or innocence of the victims of their wrath.

The consensus of opinion in the early days of California permitted a vigilance committee, composed of respectable men, to hang a lot of thieves, thugs, gamblers and cut-throats ; but it may now be fairly doubted whether even this example has not been an injury rather than a benefit to society, since it has been made the excuse for other uprisings of the people where there was no such justification as existed in California. But, granting that there may be instances where a sudden and spontaneous uprising of the populace may properly set aside the ordinary processes of the law for the punishment of crime and the preservation of society, it must still be admitted that there is, in the nature of the act itself, the essence of a crime more far-reaching, dangerous, and deadly than the crime it is intended to punish. Lynch law violates all of those merciful maxims of law and order which experience has shown to be wise and necessary for the protection of liberty, the security of the citizen, and the maintenance of justice for the whole people. It violates the principle which requires, for the conviction of crime, that a man shall be confronted in open court by his accusers. It violates the principle that it is better that ten guilty men shall escape than that one innocent man shall be punished. It violates the rule that presumes innocence until guilt is proven. It compels the accused to prove his innocence and denies him a reasonable doubt in his favor. It simply constitutes itself not a court of trial, but a court of execution. It comes to its work in a storm of passion and thirsting for human blood, ready to shoot, stab, or burn its victim, who is denied a word of entreaty or explanation. Like the gods of the heathen these mobs have eyes, but see not, ears, but hear not, and they rush to their work of death as pitilessly as the tiger rushes upon his prey.

Some of us are old enough to remember the storm of displeasure that came up from all the regions of slavery against William H. Seward for the utterance of an idea of a higher law than the law of slavery. Then the South stood up stoutly for the authority and binding force of the regularly-enacted laws, including even the infamous Fugitive Slave Law. It took to itself credit for being the conservative element in our govern-

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ment, but to-day it is the bold defender of the usurpations of the mob, and its territory, in many parts, has become the theatre of lawless violence against a defenceless people. In the arguments in its defence, however, there is quite observable a slight degree of respect for the opinion of mankind and a disposition to conciliate that opinion. The crime which these usurpers of courts, laws, and juries, profess to punish is the most revolting and shocking of any this side of murder. This they know is their best excuse, and it appeals at once and promptly to a prejudice which prevails at the North as well as the South. Hence we have for any act of lawless violence the same excuse, an outrage by a negro upon some white woman. It is a notable fact, also, that it is not with them the immorality or the enormity of the crime itself that arouses popular wrath, but the emphasis is put upon the race and color of the parties to it. Here, and not there, is the ground of indignation and abhorrenee. The appeal is not to the moral sense, but to the well-known hatred of one class towards another. It is an appeal that not only stops the ears and darkens the minds of Southern men, but it palliates the crime of lawless violence in the eyes of Northern men. The device is used with skill and effect, and the question of guilt or innocence becomes unimportant in the fierce tumult of popular passion.

For two hundred years or more, white men have in the South committed this offence against black women, and the fact has excited little attention, even at the North, except among abolitionists; which circumstance demonstrates that the horror now excited is not for the crime itself, but that it is based upon the reversal of colors in the participants. Yet this apology, rightly considered, utterly fails to palliate the crime of lynch law. For if the charge against the negro is true, with the evidence of his guilt overwhelming, as is usually asserted, there could be no rational doubt of his certain punishment by the ordinary processes of the law. Thus the very argument in defence of the mob proves the criminality of the mob. If in any case there could be shown an element of doubt of the certain lawful conviction and punishment of the accused, there might be admitted some excuse for this lawless method of administering justice. But for no such doubt is there any contention. No decent white man in the South will pretend that in that region there could be impannelled a jury, black,

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white, or mixed, which would in case of proof of the deed allow a guilty negro to escape condign punishment.

Whatever may be said of their weakness when required to hold a white man or a rich man, the meshes of the law are certainly always strong enough to hold and punish a poor man or a negro. In this case there is neither color to blind, money to corrupt, nor powerful friends to influence court or jury against the claims of justice. All the presumptions of law and society are against the negro. In the days of slavery he was presumed to be a slave, even if free, and his word was never taken against that of a white man. To be accused was to be condemned, and the same spirit prevails to-day. This state of opinion at the South not only assures by law the punishment of black men, but enables white men to escape punishment by assuming the color of the negro in order to commit crime. It is often asserted that all negroes look alike, and it is only necessary to bring one of the class into the presence of an accuser to have him at once identified as the criminal.

In apologizing for lynch law, Bishop Fitzgerald, of the Methodist Church South, says that the crime alleged against the negro makes him an outlaw, and he goes on to complain of the North that it does not more fully sympathize with the South in its efforts to protect the purity of Southern women. The answer to the first proposition of the learned and pious Bishop is that no man is an outlaw unless declared to be such by some competent authority. It is not left to a lawless mob to determine whether a man is inside or outside the protection of the law. It is not for a dozen men or for a hundred men, constituting themselves a mob, to say whether or not Bishop Fitzgerald is an outlaw. We have courts, juries and governors to determine that question, and it is a shame to the South that it holds in its bosom a Bishop of the Church of Christ who could thus apologize for the subversion of all law. As to the sympathy of the North, there never was a time when it was more fully with the Southern people than now.

The distressing circumstances in this revival of lynch law in different parts of the South is, that it shows that prejudice and hatred have increased in bitterness with the increasing interval between the time of slavery and now. I have been frequently asked to explain this phase of our national problem. I explain it on

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the same principle by which resistance to the course of a ship is create d and increased in proportion to her speed. The resistance met by the negro is to me evidence that he is making progress. The Jew is hated in Russia, because he is thrifty. The Chinaman is hated in California because he is industrious and successful. The negro meets no resistance when on a downward course. It is only when he rises in wealth, intelligence, and manly character that he brings upon himself the heavy hand of persecution. The men lynched at Memphis were murdered because they were prosperous. They were doing a business which a white firm desired to do,—hence the mob and hence the murder. When the negro is degraded and ignorant he conforms to a popular standard of what a negro should be. When he shakes off his rags and wretchedness and presumes to be a man, and a man among men, he contradicts this popular standard and becomes an offence to his surroundings. He can, at the South, ride in a first-class car as a servant, as an appendage to a white man, but is not allowed to ride in his quality of manhood alone. So extreme is the bitterness of this prejudice that several States have passed laws making it a crime for a conductor to allow a colored man, however respectable, to ride in the same car with white men unless in the manner above stated.

To the question, What is to be the solution of this race hatred and persecution ? I have two answers, one of hope and one of fear. There may come at the South satiety even in the appetite for blood. When a wall is raised to a height inconsistent with the law of gravitation, it will fall. The South is not all a wilderness. There are good men and good women there who will sooner or later make themselves heard and felt. No people can long endure the shame and disgrace of lynch law. The South, which has been compelled to keep step with the music of the Union, will also be compelled to keep step with the music of the nineteenth century, which is preëminently a century of enlightenment and progress. The grand moral forces of this century no barbarism can withstand. They met serfdom in Russia, and it fell before them. They will meet our barbarism against color, and *it* will fall before them. I am the more encouraged in this belief because, in various parts of the North, and especially in the State of Massachusetts, where fifty years ago there existed the same proscription which at the present time prevails in the South, all men

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are now treated as equals before the law and are accorded the same civil rights.

I, however, freely confess that the present prospect has for me a gloomy side. When men sow the wind it is rational to expect that they will reap the whirlwind. It is evident to my mind that the negro will not always rest a passive subject to the violence and bloodshed by which he is now pursued. If neither law nor public sentiment shall come to his relief, he will devise methods of his own. It should be remembered that the negro is a man, and that in point of intelligence he is not what he was a hundred years ago. Whatever may be said of his failure to acquire wealth, it cannot be denied that he has made decided progress in the acquisition of knowledge; and he is a poor student of the natural history of civilization who does not see that the mental energies of this race, newly awakened and set in motion, must continue to advance. Character, with its moral influence; knowledge, with its power; and wealth, with its respectability, are possible to it as well as to other races of men. In arguing upon what will be the action of the negro in case he continues to be the victim of lynch law I accept the statement often made in his disparagement, that he is an imitative being; that he will do what he sees other men do. He has already shown this facility, and he illustrates it all the way from the prize ring to the pulpit; from the plow to the professor's chair. The voice of nature, not less than the Book of books, teaches us that oppression can make even a wise man mad, and in such case the responsibility for madness will not rest upon the man but upon the oppression to which he is subjected.

How can the South hope to teach the negro the sacredness of human life while it cheapens it and profanes it by the atrocities of mob law? The stream cannot rise higher than its source. The morality of the negro will reach no higher point than the morality and religion that surround him. He reads of what is being done in the world in resentment of oppression and needs no teacher to make him understand what he reads. In warning the South that it may place too much reliance upon the cowardice of the negro, I am not advocating violence by the negro, but pointing out the dangerous tendency of his constant persecution. The negro was not a coward at Bunker Hill; he was not a coward in Haïti; he was not a coward in the late war for the Union; he

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was not a coward at Harper's Ferry, with John Brown ; and care should be taken against goading him to acts of desperation by continuing to punish him for heinous crimes of which he is not legally convicted.

I do not deny that the negro may, in some instances, be guilty of the peculiar crime so often imputed to him. There are bad men among them, as there are bad men among all other varieties of the human family, but I contend that there is a good reason to question these lynch-law reports on this point. The crime imputed to the negro is one most easily imputed and most difficult to disprove, and yet it is one that the negro is least likely to commit. It is a crime for the commission of which opportunity is required, and no more convenient one was ever offered to any class of persons than was possessed by the negroes of the South during the War of the Rebellion.

There were then left in their custody and in their power the wives and the daughters, the mothers and the sisters of the rebels, and during all that period no instance can be cited of an outrage committed by a negro upon the person of any white woman. The crime is a new one for the negro, so new that a doubt may be reasonably entertained that he has learned it to any such extent as his accusers would have us believe. A nation is not born in a day. It is said that the leopard cannot change his spots nor the Ethiopian his skin, and it may be as truly said that the character of a people, established by long years of consistent life and testimony, cannot be very suddenly reversed. It is improbable that this peaceful and inoffensive class has suddenly and all at once become changed into a class of the most daring and repulsive criminals.

Now, where rests the responsibility for the lynch law prevalent in the South ? It is evident that it is not entirely with the ignorant mob. The men who break open jails and with bloody hands destroy human life are not alone responsible. These are not the men who make public sentiment. They are simply the hangmen, not the court, judge, or jury. They simply obey the public sentiment of the South, the sentiment created by wealth and respectability, by the press and the pulpit. A change in public sentiment can be easily effected by these forces whenever they shall elect to make the effort. Let the press and the

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pulpit of the South unite their power against the cruelty, disgrace and shame that is settling like a mantle of fire upon these lynch-law States, and lynch law itself will soon cease to exist.

Nor is the South alone responsible for this burning shame and menace to our free institutions. Wherever contempt of race prevails, whether against African, Indian, or Mongolian, countenance and support are given to the present peculiar treatment of the negro in the South. The finger of scorn at the North is correllated to the dagger of the assassin at the South. The sin against the negro is both sectional and national, and until the voice of the North shall be heard in emphatic condemnation and withering reproach against these continued ruthless mob-law murders, it will remain equally involved with the South in this common crime.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

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# LADY JEUNE ON LONDON SOCIETY.

BY W. H. MALLOCK, AUTHOR OF "THE NEW REPUBLIC," "IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?" "A ROMANCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY," ETC.

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LADY JEUNE'S account of London society which appeared in this REVIEW not long ago was read by the society criticised with a great deal of attention; also it is needless to say with much difference of opinion. Some exulted in its accuracy, others were indignant at its distortion. And in a certain sense both parties were right. The justice of Lady Jeune's remarks taken separately can perhaps be denied by no one, but there are many factors in the case which she omitted altogether to consider, and thus though her details were right the effect of the whole was wrong. What, therefore, I propose to do is to supplement what she said rather than contradict it, and to alter her facts in no other way than by adding to them.

The condition of society at any given period is a subject which for many people is always full of attraction. It unites the charms of gossip with the charms of philosophy, and makes the latter fit to appear at a dinner table. To deplore the corruption of morals is often as pleasant as to add to it, and a sense of how bad our habitual companions are agreeably heightens our sense of how good we should like to be. In addition, however, to those to whom these remarks apply there are two classes of people who regard the subject in question in ways singularly different, both from this and from one another. The classes I speak of are composed of serious persons who contemplate society from a social or intellectual distance; and some of them think its condition a subject too frivolous for discussion, while it seems to others to be fraught with the fate of empires. Both views are wrong. Taken by itself the condition of society is neither. It has more significance than

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is guessed by the one class, and not half the general importance that is so solemnly attributed to it by the other. I will at once explain briefly what I mean by these statements. I shall deal with them more fully a little further on.

The condition of society then, even as seen by the superficial observer, is significant as showing what men and women are under circumstances which all their contemporaries would share if they possibly could, and it is thus a brief abstract and chronicle of the tendencies and ambitions of the time; but it has not, taken by itself, the importance which certain people attribute to it, because it is not in itself the cause of its own condition. Its condition is due to causes which influence the entire community; and the effects of these, as seen in the aristocratic and fashionable world, must be studied in connection with their effects on other ranks and classes.

These wider considerations have been omitted by Lady Jeune; and her facts, for that reason, are robbed of their right significance. My purpose being to supply her omissions, I must begin by recapitulating her facts. Put briefly, they are these: Compared with what it was fifty years ago London society has become a vast and heterogeneous body. It was once composed mainly of peers and country gentlemen, most of them having long, and many of them genuine, pedigrees. At all events it was full of the exclusiveness that comes of respect for birth. But now this limited body has been broken into and swollen by a mixed multitude from the manufacturing and financial classes, together with a crowd of celebrities who are nothing if not celebrated. One result of this change has been the destruction of social comfort; but a far greater evil than the destruction of comfort is the following: The enlargement of society has made social life not so much an enjoyment as a competition; and the competition is based upon two things, of which wealth is the first and notoriety is the second, the second being largely achieved by an ostentatious use of the first. Thus smartness, fashion, distinction—the prizes of social life—are offered for sale at an auction where the bids are made in luxury. The result is that luxury becomes excessive and assumes—which is worse—an excessive importance in the mind. In itself this state of things is sufficiently corrupting. It leads to mercenary marriages, it lowers ideals and standards, it condemns women to lives of fevered idleness, in which with

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the best will in the world they can hardly discover duty, and in which consequently pleasure is the only object. Women give the tone to society as they have done since the days of Eve; and the men, though physically masculine and hardy enough, are involved by the women in a vortex of moral effeminacy.

But the evils which arise naturally from the state of affairs described have been adventitiously aggravated by the influence of certain individuals who have exaggerated them in their own lives, and, owing to their personal position, have exhibited them to the world as things to be admired and imitated. These individuals form what is called the "smart set," and, partly owing to their own strict attention to business and partly owing to the distinguished patronage they enjoy, the pursuit of pleasure as mastered and practised by themselves has come gradually to be accepted by society at large as the daily duty of fashionable and self-respecting man. In this smart set so fierce is the competition for the externals of smartness, for the superficial brilliance of life, that young and handsome wives, without any pretence of affection, willingly attach themselves to admirers for diamonds, for clothes, for horses, and even for bare money, on which last the husbands discreetly flourish, whilst fashion consecrates the transaction with a genial though tacit benediction, and the only party who is ever deceived is the lover. Of him his friends good naturedly say "Caveat emptor." These manners and morals which at present represent fashion are copied and sometimes caricatured by that numerous and opulent class whose ambition is to be fashionable. They are gradually becoming a serious danger to the country, and are undermining our social fabric "as surely and certainly as they did that of ancient Rome."

Such is the general tenor of Lady Jeune's complaint. A few of her facts may perhaps be too strongly stated, but, for argument's sake, let us take them as she puts them. Having, however, made this concession, what I desire to point out is that they are calculated, if taken by themselves, to produce an impression in many ways quite misleading.

In the first place, when talking about London society Lady Jeune omits to define what society is. An exact definition is indeed not possible, but it is easy to arrive at one that will be accurate enough for our purpose. Whatever progress democracy may have made in England the tradition of society is still aristocratic.

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Its nucleus consists still of our old landed families, the most important of which enjoy high titular rank. In former days it was almost entirely composed of such persons, and even to-day it includes only such others as are in touch with them. What then is the extent of this body numerically? An answer of some sort is given in the well-known phrase the "upper ten thousand," but however approximately accurate this phrase may be if regarded as a synonym for the upper classes generally, as a synonym for the society in London it is immensely beyond the mark. Let a garden party be given by the most popular and distinguished hostess, I do not say to ten thousand, but even to five thousand people, and it is certain that the faces of those unknown to fashion would bewilder and scandalize by their number the eyes of those known to it. Still perhaps we shall not be far wrong, if we say for the purpose of a general discussion like the present that London society consists of some five thousand persons. If it consists of more, what I am about to say will have still more weight.

Now, five thousand persons, though a mere handful as compared to the nation, are an immense number when considered as a single society; and it is perfectly obvious that, in a certain sense, they cannot possibly form a single society at all, but merely a loose federation of many. Let us consider a school like Eton, or a university like Oxford, communities which number only a thousand persons and two thousand. We know how absurd it would be to regard even these smaller bodies as consisting of boys and youths all intimate or even all acquainted with one another, or sharing the same pursuits, tastes, or principles. On the contrary, we know that they consist of numerous cliques, each presenting us with some different type of living—the frivolous, the serious, the hardy, the effeminate, the literary, the sporting, the religious, and the profligate. Each community, in fact, is an epitome of human nature, and reproduces under a special set of circumstances the diversities that are found under others everywhere and in all classes. The same is the case with society. It is common to speak of the high morality of the middle class, and perhaps it is the voice of its moral section that is most frequently heard, but the middle class has its profligates just as much as society has, the only difference being that their profligacy excites less notice.

Gambling is often spoken of as an aristocratic vice. If it is a

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vice at all it is a democratic vice in exactly the same proportion. There are Puritan peers and profligate sons of Methodists. So, too, in every class is to be found a section of its members with the temperament, the tastes, and the talents which in society result in smartness. The most brilliant *vaurien* who ever ruined himself on the turf is merely an *edition de luxe* of Hogarth's "Idle Apprentice." It is very important that we should bear this in mind. Smartness, though it takes its most brilliant form in society, is not characteristic of society in any special sense, but exists in society because society represents human nature. The "smart set," in fact, is not a class but a clique, and it is entirely dependent not on the birth of its members, but on their character. Two sisters are grinding at a mill. One is taken by the "smart set," the other left. A "smart set," therefore, and an aristocratic class are two distinct things, and the condition of the first is no index to that of the second.

It is, however, impossible to deny that any set which is recognized as being the smartest has an influence, whether for good or for evil, over multitudes who do not belong to it. And the fact is perfectly intelligible. Smartness, whatever people may say to the contrary, requires personal qualities of by no means a common order. Mere wealth is not enough; there must be the knowledge of how to use it. A fastidious taste is desirable, a certain amount of taste is essential. Grace, beauty, *bonhomie*, wit, and humor, and the indefinable art of giving brightness to the passing moment—all these qualities go to the production of "smartness," and a set in which they are wanting could never be called "smart," no matter how exalted might be the position of its leader. Smartness, in fact, represents the perfection of superficial living, and it has a natural, one may indeed say a legitimate, influence over persons of a certain temperament in all ranks. If, then, "smartness" is for the time being allied with anything like depravity and debasing luxury, Lady Jeune is perfectly right in considering the fact deplorable.

But here comes the point on which I am anxious to insist. Whatever may be the peculiar sins of contemporary "smartness," be they great or little, they are by no means confined to the smart set or its imitators, but are due to causes which influence every rank, and which should be sought for in history rather than in fashionable memoirs.

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On the most important of these causes Lady Jeune hardly touches, and that is the growth in this country of commercial wealth. At the beginning of the century two-thirds of the wealth that paid income tax was derived from land. Now, three-fourths of it is derived from commerce, And yet the landed income itself has within that period doubled. The landed income has increased by some seventy millions. The commercial income has increasod by four hundred and fifty millions. Let us take a shorter period, and we shall be able to speak more in detail and present this extraordinary change more vividly to the imagination. During the thirty years that followed the opening of the *first great exhibition in London—that is between 1851 and 1880* —fifty new families came into being with incomes averaging ninety thousand a year ; four hundred new families with incomes averaging twenty thousand a year ; a thousand new families with incomes averaging seven thousand a year ; fifteen hundred with incomes averaging four thousand ; two thousand with incomes averaging two thousand, and seven thousand with incomes averaging fifteen hundred. We thus arrive at a total of about twelve thousand families. I have not before me the figures of the last ten years, but there is every reason to believe that the same process is continued, and this period will accordingly give us some four thousand families more. Four and a half persons are allowed on an average to a family, and thus we arrive at a body of some seventy-two thousand persons, all belonging to families who have at least fifteen hundred a year. This calculation is really far under the mark, because the vast wealth represented by railways and many other forms of investment is not included in it. But here we have a body the aggregate income of which is something like eighty millions a year—a sum equal, roughly speaking, to three times the landed income of all our peers and country gentlemen at the time of the first exhibition. This body, this nation, one may say, of wealthy familes, is entirely the creation of the past forty years. It is as new a feature in our national life as a volcanic mountain would be suddenly shooting up in Belgravia.

The parent of this body is commerce and manufacture, stimulated by scientific invention. The makers of the new wealth have been producers and multipliers of luxuries, and their families have been the principal consumers of them. Luxuries of a cer-

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tain kind the aristocracy have always enjoyed and demanded ; but the modern increase of luxury is due entirely to the middle classes, and the utmost the aristocracy do is to avail themselves of the pick of it. Let us take, for instance, the one matter of hotels and travelling. Who support the monster hotels of London, with their gilded saloons, their marble staircases, and their vast cellars, or the similar establishments to be found all over the country ? Not the aristocracy, not society, though members of society may take advantage of them and give certain of them a cachet. What supports them, what has called them into existence is the new middle class.

Who, again, support the trains *de luxe* to the Riviera ? Society may patronize them, but society does not support them. It could not supply a tithe of the travellers requisite to make them pay. What supports them is the opulent middle class. If, then, the luxury of society has increased during the past fifty years—and, as some say, scandalously increased—the luxury of other classes has increased to a far greater degree. And so far is the first from being the cause of the second, that the second is the cause of the first. Luxuries multiply as the means of producing them are perfected. The means of producing them can be perfected only when there is a growing demand, and the growth of the demand is a middle-class growth essentially. If a smart house of to-day is more luxurious than a smart house fifty years ago, this is mainly because, owing to this middle class demand, there are incalculably more objects and appliances of luxury in the market. If society only, for instance, used the electric light, we may—employing an Irish figure of speech—say, confidently, that there would be no electric light to use. Electric-lighting companies are supported by the fashionable world, no doubt, but they are supported mainly by wealth, which is entirely outside fashion. And with modern luxury generally the case is just the same. For a further illustration, let us go back to travelling. Any one who would now travel luxuriously in the East can do so best by a tourist agency. Tourist agencies are now patronized by the most distinguished sections of society, but their original patrons were exclusively the middle classes, and the luxuries of Eastern travel which society now enjoys, and which have been almost forced upon it, are altogether a middle class creation, of which society has availed itself only after a long delay, and not without a period of protest.

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So far then as luxury is concerned, the most luxurious smart society merely exhibits a phenomenon which is to be found everywhere, and results from causes affecting all classes similarly. Let us now turn from its luxury to its alleged moral laxity. Lady Jeune mentions three causes as combining, in addition to its luxury, to produce this,—influential example, idleness, and the decay of religious belief. Now as to one of these causes, namely influential example, it may be responsible for a good deal, but the circumstances of the society on which it operates are responsible for still more. We will therefore put this factor in the case aside, and consider merely luxury, idleness, and the decay of religious belief. Here again we shall see that society in its moral just as in its material condition exhibits the result of influences not peculiar to itself and not even originating in itself. How this holds good of luxury we have seen already; how it holds good of idleness a moment's reflection will show us.

Idleness, as Lady Jeune says, is the vice of our women rather than of our men, and it vitiates the men principally through the women. But women in society, especially the smartest women, have countless occupations, no matter how frivolous. The women to whom actual idleness, or a difficulty in finding occupation, is principally a source of danger, are not the women pointed at in Lady Jeune's criticism. There is more idleness in the opulent classes outside than there is in society itself; whilst as to the decline of religious belief, not only is it a fact not confined to smart society, but it is certain that the smart society neither originated it nor is responsible for it. The decline of religious belief so marked in the present century is directly due to scientific and historical discovery. It originated in the library and the study, not amongst the flowers of the ball room. And if the morals of "smart" society suffer from it, they suffer in common with the morals of a section of every class in the nation.

There is, however, this to be said: Whatever may be the result on social life of all these modern influences, though smart society may not be in itself responsible for them, yet in smart society they come, as it were, to a head; but they do so for a reason very different from that which is popularly supposed. They do so, not from any exaggeration or corruption of the aristocratic principle, but from the growth of the democratic principle. All aristocracies, if they do not rest on war, rest on wealth,

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but they differ from plutocracies in these two fundamental points—that their wealth is permanent in families and that it is associated with political power. It is to the first that they owe their refinement, to the second that they owe their character. Power means duty, or, at all events, energetic activity; whilst the respect for birth as birth, even in the wealthiest society, tempers the value of mere wealth as such by the consideration it insures for the numbers of individuals who are poor. But for an aristocracy to exist in this condition it must not only be the most powerful body in the country, it must also be the most wealthy body. And up to a comparatively recent time the landed aristocracy in England was so. It is so now no longer. A new class is arisen, generated by the vapor of the steam engine, which has first rivalled and then eclipsed it in wealth, and first rivalled and then eclipsed it in power. The new class, however, lacked one thing. It lacked the refinement, the tone, the position, which alone make wealth and power socially desirable; and these could only be got by receiving them from the hands of the aristocracy through a kind of apostolic ordination.

In England, as in all other countries, great wealth, if it has only remained long enough in a family always, ultimately, lifted its possessors into the aristocratic rank. Indeed in countries where aristocracies remain most exclusive this is merely a sign that new fortunes are not frequently made. The England of this century differs from the England of the last, not in the fact that the possession of a great fortune raises its possessor socially, but in the fact that new great fortunes are incalculably more numerous. The career of the banking family of the Childes with their stately abode at Osterley and their distinguished alliances, would satisfy the most aspiring financial family of to-day. The only difference is that where formerly there was one Childe there are now whole families of children. And the result of this difference is, no doubt, socially very great. When new families enter a society slowly they are absorbed by that society and in no way change it. But when numbers of new families are entering it at the same time, all anxious for the most intimate and eager welcome, they all try to outdo one another in displaying their recommendations, which consist in their wealth and in the luxuries their wealth can buy. They put themselves entirely at the service of the society which they wish to enter; partly in the way



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of entertainments competitive in their charm or luxury, partly in the way of fortunes to be had for the matrimonial asking.

Now of all kinds of life to which great wealth is essential, that to which it is most essential is the "smart" life. It is therefore towards the "smart set" that the new wealth gravitates and in which its presence and influence is most obvious. This new wealth is so enormous and employed with so much *savoir vivre*, that its possessors not only equal in the arts of living those whom they wish to conciliate, but far outdo them; and this is now more the case than ever, when almost all landed fortunes have shrunk, and the great houses of London give large entertainments rarely. Thus new wealth—wealth independent of birth—has a power now that it did not have formerly, in that it gives a standard of living to smart society, instead of taking a standard from it; nor does this apply to material luxury merely; it applies to the fact that this new wealth, unlike landed wealth, has no recognized duties, and tends to make its possessors pleasure-seeking citizens of the world, rather than rulers and leaders of their own particular country.

But whatever the change thus wrought may be, the causes of it are to be sought in these wide movements I have indicated, far more than in the conduct and example of special individuals. Aristocracies have often been corrupted and from various causes, but if English smart society has any special moral maladies to-day those specific causes are not aristocratic but democratic, and no class is free from them.

And this brings me back to what I said at the beginning, that the public importance of the morals of a fashionable society, though great, may be easily exaggerated. Lady Jeune talks of the society of Rome being undermined by its luxury, as though it and the empire perished in some sudden catastrophe; she forgets that the luxury and the Empire of Rome both took a long time dying, if, indeed, the former be dead yet; she forgets that Theodora flourished five hundred years after Nero. The fact is, that when an aristocracy falls after it has grown corrupt and luxurious, its fall is due, not to its corruption, but to some common cause which has produced both. The French Revolution was due not to bad morals but to bad farming, not to the fact that the nobles had too much money, but that the country at large was prevented from producing enough of it. Still if the morals of

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any prominent set were ever calculated to have a general influence, they are more likely to have it now than at any former time ; and here again is the result of the democratic spirit.

Such being the case, however, it is important to dwell on a fact which Lady Jeune has indeed mentioned, but to which she has hardly given sufficient prominence. "Smartness" is a word which bears different meanings outside society and in it. When the general public sees an account of a party at which all the guests were persons of the highest rank, or at least belonging to families of notorious distinction and antiquity, the general public would speak of this party as "smart;" but society itself uses the word in a far narrower sense, and the majority of persons to whom the general public would naturally apply the name would in all probability repudiate any claim to it. Few things indeed surprise Americans more than to learn, as they do learn when they study our society on the spot, how many of the wealthiest, the most illustrious, the most powerful of our old families, boasting the loftiest titles and the most renowned names, mix with the "smart set" only in the most accidental way, neither by taste, habit nor desire, in any way belonging to it.

"Smartness," as I have said before, is the result, not of birth, but of personal temperament, just as yachting is ; and we may say of the devotees of the first, as we may say of the devotees of the second, that what pleases them may make many of their relations sick. No doubt the "smart set" is surrounded by a body of devoted and unsuccessful imitators, but of all sections of society this is the least distinguished. I have said that "smartness" is the perfection of superficial living, and that it cannot exist without many fascinating qualities ; if then "smartness" be allied at the present moment, as Lady Jeune maintains, with a relaxation or depravation of morals, the wonder is, not that its influence should be so great, but that it should be so small. Lady Jeune herself admits that the section of society in which "rank, birth, and vast possessions" fill their possessors with a sense of their responsibilities, in which private life is decorous, and public duties are faithfully discharged, is larger and more important than the section in which decorum and responsibility are forgotten. Lady Jeune, I say, admits this. My only complaint is that she does not state the fact with sufficient relative emphasis. One fact, however, she does state clearly, though she does not point out its

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significance. She says that this section of society "represents the power of resistance which alone can withstand the demoralizing influence of contemporary smartness." This is really saying, whether she meant to say so or no, that just as the demoralization of to-day is the result of the growth of the democratic element, so the power of resistance is to be found in the survival of the aristocratic.

That aristocracies are or have been stricter in their private morality than other classes, I do not say for a moment, nor do I say that the aristocratic element need always have the tendency ascribed to it in the present instance. Lady Jeune is dealing and I am dealing with the events and facts of one special period only. Her point is, not that society is bad, but that in certain specific ways it is worse than it was thirty or forty years ago; and just as she implies that it is the aristocratic element which resists this change, I have endeavored to point out in detail that it is the democratic element which has promoted it. And by the democratic element I mean no particular politicians or agitators, or school of politics, but those great economic movements, and those great intellectual movements which lie behind and under all these, and are affecting the lives of all countries and of all classes simultaneously.

W. H. MALLOCK.

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# THE NEEDS OF THE NEW NORTHWEST.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA.

MANY of the citizens of the country living east of the Alleghanies have but a faint conception of the growth and development that have taken place in the last quarter of a century beyond the Mississippi River. They have read startling accounts of the marvellous changes occurring in the West. Some of the stories told have been more or less exaggerated—a good many overdrawn to such an extent as to savor of absolute misrepresentation. Eastern people have loaned their money to aid in the development of the Northwest, with profit, as a rule; rarely with loss. In this manner they have gained some idea of what has taken place in this part of the world. Merchants and manufacturers, too, have sold their wares to their Western customers, and there are other interests of a commercial kind linking the two together and spreading information as to the character and scope of the growth and prosperity of this favored region.

Before suggesting the material needs of this rapidly developing community, permit me to briefly call attention to the results that have been attained within a little less than thirty years. The writer of this article came to Minnesota as a boy in 1861. At that date there was not a railroad in the State. St. Paul was a town containing about 8,000 people, and Minneapolis, possessed of a magnificent water-power, had not attained the importance of her sister city. Duluth lived in the imagination. The entire western and northern part of Minnesota, and the two States known as the Dakotas, were given over to the Indians, with here and there a white settler. The farming lands adjacent to the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers were fairly well taken up, the grain finding an outlet by water connection to railroads extending across Wisconsin and Illinois. The invasion of the pine forests of Northern Minnesota by venturesome lumbermen was beginning. All of the vast territory lying beyond the Missouri River, including the rich mineral lands of Montana, and the

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timber and farming lands on the eastern side of Washington, awaited settlement.

The changes have been so rapid as to almost make us marvel at the origin of the power that wrought them. Transportation facilities now extend across the entire country. The Twin Cities number nearly 400,000 people. Duluth is one of the great primary wheat markets of the world. The farm lands of Minnesota and the two Dakotas produced something like one hundred and fifty million bushels of wheat last year. Montana is now a great silver and copper-producing State. In addition, its wide ranges offer inducements and opportunities for enlarged traffic in cattle and sheep. Idaho is rich in minerals, while Washington fairly teems with great crops of grain and wonderful forests of timber which are now coming into use.

In this age of iron—this age of the development of the forces of electricity, of steam—we are borne along with the stream, and few pause to contemplate what has occurred in so short a time in the northwesterly States lying next to the British boundary. It is marvellous. It is only when confronted with the facts that we are impressed with the almost dynamic force that has been expended to attain such wonderful results. We halt for a breathing place and ask the question, "What are the needs of the new Northwest for its continued material prosperity? Its progress has been remarkable; what of its future?"

Primarily the strength of a community lies in the character, the force, and the intelligence of its citizens. Let encouragement be given to all well-disposed, law-abiding, thrifty emigrants to come to this new country and settle here, prepared to become Americans. Keep out, by the force of legislation, every individual tainted with communism, anarchism, or the like. The continued importation of an element not in harmony with the ideas of the Republic is a source of danger to the future of the country, and should be summarily stopped. The Northwest will not be benefited by becoming a dumping-ground for the refuse population of the countries of Southern Europe. Our immigration laws need revising to protect the new States from the evils that are likely to come upon them through the indiscriminate and faulty enactments now in orce.

A community of the highest order, prosperous, intelligent and

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law-abiding, cannot result from elements made up of people banished from their native lands for crime, pauperism, or general worthlessness. The men who laid the foundation for the future growth and success of this new country do not desire the work that has been accomplished in the past to be endangered in the future by the admission of the discordant portions of society whose mission is to destroy rather than build up.

Millions of arable acres await the plow. Unseen wealth, in the form of gold, silver, and iron, is lying hidden. Vast forests, as yet unknown to the axe of the pioneer, are ready to succumb to the relentless march of events. The avenues to wealth are many and varied. Let them be traversed by the man who is in accord with the citizenship of the Republic, and who loves and respects the law. Let education flourish to the greatest extent. The university, the common and the high school are essential to a full and complete system of education. The intelligence of the masses is a necessary adjunct to the permanency of free institutions. The State should provide liberally for its children in this direction as a means necessary to its own safety.

Where the ballot is absolutely free, with practically no restriction, it is requisite that every voter should be educated sufficiently to understand the meaning and the force of the privileges granted to him by reason of his citizenship. With education must necessarily follow the ability to reason and to discriminate as to what is good or bad for the community.

The Northwestern States have provided bountifully through grants of land, taxation, etc., for a broad and liberal system of education. It is a safeguard against the evils that are likely to arise from intrusting the voting franchise to the ignorant and lawless.

The opportunities for the use of new capital for the development of latent industries are almost limitless. Mines are to be opened, cities to be built up, and farms to be tilled, while manufacturing interests of many kinds are ready for the capitalist. Railroads are still needed in some localities.

It is easy enough to hold out glittering allurements to the older sections of the East to send their surplus earnings to this new country, but some assurances must be given that the capital sent will not be discriminated against by local legislation. The laws should be so framed as to deal out equal justice and protec-

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tion to all. There has been an effort in some of the Northwestern States to enact legislation unfavorable to those with capital residing without the borders of the State. This idea is essentially unfair as well as entirely impolitic. The new Northwest needs the help of older and richer communities for its successful development, and it is the height of folly to build a wall of unjust legislation about this new country and thereby practically prohibit needed money from finding its way to us. Let our laws be so wrought as to bear equally and fairly upon capital, whether it be our own or that of our neighbor.

Another need of this new country is that every intelligent citizen shall interest himself in public affairs. In many localities there is a disposition upon the part of too many men of character and standing to shirk their duty and leave the administration of the public welfare to any one who is willing to look after it. The result is much that is bad and indifferent in government. This is entirely wrong; and if a standard of high citizenship is to be developed in the Northwest, coupled with a prosperous and intelligent community, every man, whatever his calling or station in life, must do his share of public duty.

I might suggest other needs, and there are many that I have not even touched upon; but the prescribed limits of this article forbid.

The Northwestern States comprise a limitless empire of future greatness. The infusion and commingling of the blood of the best of different nationalities, with the advantages of climate and locality, coupled with the natural sources of wealth so abundant, may evolve, as, indeed, they should, the finest kind of American men and women. It will be, after all, a question of utilizing these various forces. The opportunities are vast, and it will rest with the individual to say whether the best results shall be accomplished.

Let the citizens of the new Northwest see to it that laws humane and just be enacted, and that educational and civilizing influences are guarded and fostered. Let them look to it that her people, as individuals, are amply protected in their homes and in their vocations; that industries, manufactories, and corporate enterprises are heartily encouraged, yet firmly held, within those limits beyond which they become oppressive, and the future we hope for is assured to us.

WILLIAM R. MERRIAM.

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# POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.

## I. THE DUTY OF FIGHTING CIVIL CORRUPTION.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE,
BISHOP OF ALBANY.

"THE duties of the clergy towards their parishioners in political matters" is a large subject to be treated briefly, all the more so because the putting of the word *duties* in the plural means that it covers more points than one.

That the Kingdom of Christ is not of this world is a statement, which contains an inherent and perpetual law of that Kingdom, and lays down, I think, a characteristic feature of the Church. Like the individual Christian, the Church is to be *in* the world but not *of* it; but *in* it as leaven, salt, light, to quicken, sweeten and brighten it; and in both instances there is a danger always of the two extremes, too entire withdrawal from, and too complete mingling with, the world. It is in the golden mean between these two that all duties lie; and the mean is not the cowardly compromise of an afterthought, but the original way, which men have left, to run to one or another extreme.

Making application of this general statement to the particular instance, I must for a moment pause to define political matters. It is a noble word degraded sadly, this word *politics*. It has in it the thought of the old pride, such as that for Jerusalem, for Rome, for Athens, even for Tarsus, which has not only adorned the great cities of the world, but has made the great citizens. It goes higher even than that, as it involves St. Augustine's splendid plea for the Civitas Dei; and reminds us that the Church of God on earth is type and threshold of the golden-streeted city, the heavenly Jerusalem. Dragged in the mire of to-day by the selfishness of men and the unscrupulousness of parties, there is a high and holy element in political matters, about which the clergy have grave duties to discharge.

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We are smarting to-day in the Capital City and in this great State, because of an utter confusion in the minds of men between questions which involve eternal principles of right, truth, morality, righteousness, manhood, citizenship, statesmanship, and the law of God; and the passing, changing, petty, local questions and concerns about which men may honestly differ and disagree.

I believe the first duty of the clergy to their parishioners in political matters is to teach men to draw these distinctions.

There are many reasons why the Lord's Day and the Lord's House should be kept free from the heated atmosphere of political denunciations and discussions. Both the place and the day are sanctuaries, places of refuge, of refreshment, of rest from the toil and stir of platforms and parties; and while the occasion may arise when religion should make its scourge of small cords, and utter burning words of righteous indignation against the cruelty and corruption of "wickedness in high places," there is always danger of the disastrous results that came to the Israelites who brought the Ark of God into the battlefield of the Philistines. But when political parties take up *moral* questions in *immoral* ways, it is not political preaching to denounce the immorality; and when immoralities are threatened in political action, it is the duty of the clergy, who are the guardians of morality, to warn their people of the danger.

Let two or three instances point the argument. When it is known that moral issues are at stake in an election, I think the clergy ought to warn the people that they should secure if possible the nomination of men in their own particular party who are known to hold strong and positive convictions on the right side of those questions; and if a party nominates unprincipled and unsafe men, the votes of honest Christian people should be withheld from them, no matter what the party demands may be. For in this way only can partisan leaders be taught to feel that they have no right to apply the modern thumb-screw of a caucus to the great issues and principles of righteousness and truth.

A very striking illustration is furnished by recent events in one of the Southern States. The Louisiana lottery question entered largely into the last elections there. It contained in it a mercenary element, namely, as to taxation; from which the citizens of the State were largely relieved by the *blood-money* which the

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treasury of that State had no scruple in receiving. Certainly no faithful teacher could fail to press home to the consciences of his people the root-evil of this accursed sin, which lies under the very strongest token of Divine displeasure since ever the soldiers mocked the misery of the Divine Saviour, by gambling under the Cross.

Nearer home, two instances have pressed in on my mind very strongly. In the Assembly of the State of New York this year two bills were introduced, dealing with matters of vital importance; two great principles of morality and religion—the so-called Excise Law and the miscalled "Freedom of Worship" bill. They were both introduced and dealt with as *party* measures; the one avowedly in the interest of the liquor dealers, whom it was supposed to restrict; and the other plainly in the interest of the Roman Catholic effort to use the State money, for the maintenance of their religious teaching. It is nothing to the point that persistent efforts removed two or three of the grosser outrages of the bill for the promotion of intemperance, and emasculated the other bill by taking out the words which authorized the State "to provide for" (which certainly meant to *pay for*) certain religious services. The bills in their worst or better estate dealt with great questions of principle. They were first defeated, and then carried, in the Assembly. How? A few politicians, desiring to secure votes for the passage of their own bills creating a water commission and changing the inspectors of a town election, bought the votes of opponents to these measures by withholding their own votes from these two bills; and when this nefarious trade was accomplished, they turned their votes over bodily in favor of the bills which they had just before voted against! It is not merely the imbecile inconsistency of voting two ways upon the same question within ten days; not merely the treachery of condemning and then commending the principles which the bills involved; but the wickedness of dealing with a question of principle and of party policy as though they were upon the same level.

Does not the duty of the clergy to their parishioners in political matters lie just here? Because a question is made political, it does not necessarily follow that it ceases to be a question of principle; and politics, in the modern degradation of the word—that is to say, party interests and personal advantages—must be left out when a great principle is at stake.

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I think we ought to teach our people that gambling is a sin; that intemperance must be prevented, as far as possible by law, and punished; that the Lord's Day must be kept holy, at least by abstinence from work and the removal of the opportunities for sin; that freedom of worship means *not* allowing the State to provide for the support of any particular religious system. I am inclined to go further even than this, since it has been demonstrated in the State of New York at any rate, that, in order to secure their own interests, liquor dealers will elect politicians who will pander to their wishes and bow to their dictation. I am inclined to think that the clergy would be wise to begin an effort *to wipe out all excise legislation from the Statute Books;* and to keep, only in the Penal Code, enactments which would punish drunkenness and the makers of it, the violation of Sunday, and the grosser evils of the liquor trade. It pays the modern politician to keep up saloons, in order to secure the support of their frequenters, and to extort money from them for election purposes. I believe the number of saloons is due to this more than to the number of drinkers. Political saloons and saloon politics are the curse of our legislation. If it cannot be removed in any other way, let us remove liquor from politics, and politics from liquor, by ceasing to legislate on the question at all.

Deeper and farther down, because not touching questions that are merely of the day, lies the tremendous duty upon every man who is charged with the cure of souls perpetually to impress upon people,—sometimes with the voice of one who cries in the wilderness in denunciation of sin, and sometimes with the tenderer appeal that holds up the splendid standards of the Gospel and character of Christ,—the great principles of purity, righteousness, truth, manhood, and the courage of convictions, as against the cowardice of mere expediency, cost whatever the maintenance of these principles may.

WM. CROSWELL DOANE,
Bishop of Albany.

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## II. THE PREACHERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY BISHOP WILLARD F. MALLALIEU.

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IT WILL help us to a correct understanding of the duties of the clergy towards their parishioners, in political matters, if we con-

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sider what is properly meant by the word politics. Certainly we do not mean the dishonest, artful schemes and tricks, the frauds that are sometimes resorted to by unprincipled men to secure honor, official position, and financial emolument, either for themselves or friends. Such conduct is everywhere and always worthy of the severest condemnation. No self-respecting and God-fearing preacher will ever have anything to do with such men and methods except to hold them up to the scorn and contempt and abhorrence of all real patriots, of all good and true men.

The proper signification of the word "politics" is expressed in the following terms: It is "the science of government, that part of ethics that has to do with the regulation and government of a nation or State, the preservation of its safety, peace and prosperity; the defence of its existence and rights against foreign domination or conquest, the augmentation of its strength and resources, and the protection of its citizens in their rights, with the preservation and improvement of their morals." Politics thus defined does not differ essentially from patriotism. It is the duty of every patriot to know the principles upon which his government is founded, to know about the laws and their administration, to care for the peace and prosperity of all the people, to antagonize every enemy and every malign influence that may arise from without or within, to protect the people in the untrammelled exercise of every proper and legitimate right, and to promote in every possible way the intelligence and morality of each individual.

It is inevitable that communities, and the nation, should be divided into parties. It will happen sometimes that such parties differ only in matters of minor importance, and the greatest object that either seeks is the control of affairs for the sake of the official honors and profit. Or it may be that parties are divided on questions that are purely and only financial, and upon which the ablest and most experienced statesmen and financiers are not agreed. Or again, it may be that parties are divided in regard to the details of administration concerning the necessity of which all are agreed. In all such cases there is no exigency which requires, or ordinarily would justify, the intervention of the clergy.

But it has often happened in the history of nations that great

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moral, and social, and religious questions have confronted the people. At such critical times it is not only the privilege, but it is the imperative duty of the clergy to take a decided and active part in forming public opinion and shaping the action of the people.

Such certainly was the course pursued by the priesthood and the prophets under the Mosaic economy; Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and many others condemned or approved both laws and rulers as they antagonized, or harmonized with, the plans and purposes and laws of the Almighty. Braver men than some of these old prophets never lived. The Ahabs and Jezebels and their unholy and unpatriotic practices were fearlessly condemned. Jesus, the sublime and supreme model for all preachers, denounced in severest terms the scribes and pharisees, the rulers of his people, and held their practices up to the light of day as worthy only of the scorn of all good men. Paul and Peter and John, with multitudes of their immediate successors, followed closely the example of the Master. Huss, Savanarola, Martin Luther, and John Knox were as much political agitators and revolutionists as they were religious reformers. The sound of Luther's hammer nailing his ninety-five theses upon the heavy oak door of the old church at Wittemberg has never ceased to reverberate, and it is heard to-day wherever shackles are broken and yokes are riven, and wherever the strongholds and bastiles of tyranny and slavery are thrown down by the delivered peoples. It was heard in the clash of arms that emancipated our fathers in the War of the Revolution, and heard again in the awful thunders of that vaster conflict that brought deliverance to four millions of our outraged fellow men.

Neither of these struggles would have been entered upon had it not been for the patriotic, political action of the clergy. True, not all the clergy were agreed, for in the old times there were some who were so utterly Tory in their sentiments that all their influence was on the wrong side as regards human liberty; and, in these recent times, there were also some who claimed to believe that the abominations and infamies of slavery were providential, and that the institution itself was divine and must continue to endure.

The preachers of New England made the Revolution possible. Away back as early as 1633 there was a Thursday lectureship

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established in Boston by the Rev. John Cotton, which continued for more than two hundred years. It was especially designed for the discussion of social and political subjects by the clergy. It was for one hundred and fifty years most emphatically a nursery of liberal, progressive, revolutionary opinions and ideas. Such distinguished divines as Tucker, Parsons, Hitchcock, Langdon, Mayhew, Stillman, Cooper, Payson, Gordon, Howard and many others were developed and broadened in this school of patriotism.

A few brief extracts will show the temper and thought of these men and their relation to the vast and far-reaching political questions of the times in which they lived. In the preface to a sermon preached in Boston June 30, 1750, by J. Mayhew, occurs this passage:

"God be thanked! one may in any part of the British dominions speak freely—if a decent regard be paid to those in authority—both of government and religion, and even give some broad hints that he is engaged on the side of liberty, the Bible, and common sense, in opposition to tyranny, priestcraft, and nonsense—without being in danger either of the Bastille or the Inquisition,—though there will always be some interested politicians, contracted bigots, and hypercritical zealots for a party, to take offence at such freedom. Their censure is praise, their praise is infamy."

And in the same sermon:

"It is evident that the affairs of civil government may properly fall under a moral and religious consideration—at least, so far forth as it relates to the general nature and end of magistracy, and to the ground and extent of that submission which persons of a private character ought to yield to those who are vested with authority. This must be allowed by all who acknowledge the divine original of Christianity."

The same bold speaker added in a note to the sermon:

"No civil rulers are to be obeyed when they enjoin things that are inconsistent with the commands of God. No government is to be submitted to at the expense of that which is the sole end of all government, the common good and safety of society. The only reason of the institution of civil government, and the only rational ground of submission to it, is the common safety and utility. If, therefore, in any case, the common safety and utility would not be promoted by submission to government, but the contrary, there is no ground or motion for obedience and submission, but for the contrary."

In an election sermon preached by Samuel Cooke, May 30, 1770, are these utterances:

"I trust on this occasion I may, without offence, plead the cause of our African slaves, and humbly propose the pursuit of some effectual measures at least to prevent the further importation of them. Difficulties insuperable, I apprehend, prevent an adequate remedy for what is past. Let the

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time past more than suffice wherein we, the patrons of liberty, have dishonored the Christian name, and degraded human nature nearly to a level with the beasts that perish. Ethiopia has long stretched out her hands to us. Let not sordid gain, acquired by the merchandise of slaves and the souls of men, harden our hearts against her piteous moans. When God ariseth and and when he visiteth what shall we answer? May it be the glory of this province, of this respectable General Assembly, and, we could wish, of this session, to lead in the cause of the oppressed. This will avert the impending vengeance of Heaven, procure you the blessing of multitudes of your fellow men ready to perish, be highly approved of our common Father, who is no respecter of persons, and, we trust, an example which would excite the highest attention of our sister colonies."

Samuel Langdon, President of Harvard College, spoke thus in an election sermon, May 31, 1775 :

"If the great servants of the public forget their duty, betray their trust, and sell their country, or make war against the most valuable rights and privileges of the people, reason and justice require that they should be discarded, and others appointed in their room, without any regard to formal resignations of their forfeited powers."

On May 29, 1776, Samuel West delivered an election sermon, in which these opinions are given :

"The authority of a tyrant is of itself null and void. No body of men can justly and lawfully authorize any person to tyrannize over and enslave his fellow creatures, or do anything contrary to equity and goodness. As magistrates have no authority but what they derive from the people, whenever they act contrary to the public good, and pursue measures destructive of the peace and safety of the community, they forfeit their right to govern the people."

The preacher, if he be worthy of his profession, is called of God to the performance of the most solemn and important duties. The pulpit is the coign of vantage. All that the tribune is to the statesman, the platform to the lecturer, the chair to the professor, the pulpit is, and even more, to the preacher. The preacher is so identified with the pulpit that it is easy to so personify the pulpit that when we come to speak of politics and the pulpit we mean politics and the preacher. The preacher is always a man before he enters upon the discharge of the functions of his high and holy office. No inherent right of manhood is necessarily given up by the preacher. This is equally true of his citizenship. The preacher would be derelict to the plainest requirements of duty should he refuse to share the obligations and privileges which rest upon all his fellow citizens. There may be

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exemption for some few of the minor responsibilities, but the essential ones are never really laid aside, much less ignored.

There are four principal requisites which especially go to make up a genuine preacher. First of all he must be a teacher of the people; and this involves the idea that he shall have a well-trained mind, that he shall be scholarly in his tastes and habits, and that he shall have abundant stores of knowledge. He must know men and things. He must be familiar with the past, alive to all present interests, and thoughtful concerning the future. Nothing that really affects the material, intellectual, or spiritual welfare of man must be outside of his range of thought and intelligent and comprehensive study. This will certainly bring him into intimate contact with living men, and will involve him in the affairs that interest his fellow men—and so connect politics and the pulpit.

The preacher must also be an example to all who come within the range of his influence. He is taken as an example whether he will or not. His example will be either harmful or helpful, as the case may be. His example is not limited by his public devotions and pulpit ministrations, nor by the tone of his voice, the expression of his countenance, or the style of his dress. His example has to do with private and public goodness. What is right and proper for the most blameless man to do in private and in public should be the standard of conduct on the part of the preacher. This principle will apply to his personal conduct everywhere; he must be a gentleman without fear and without reproach, sensitive and sensible to the last degree where honor and integrity are involved. If he is to be an example in all things, he will of necessity find himself within the realm of politics, and here he must illustrate the highest type of patriotism, loyalty and righteousness.

Again, the preacher must be a leader, for if he fails in this respect the world has but very little use for him. His superior opportunities for the best culture place upon him the duty of leadership. If he has not the wisdom, nor the courage, nor the high spirit of consecration necessary for this, he will receive but very slight honor either from God or man. And this means much more than leadership in things that are purely intellectual or spiritual. It means that the preacher should have clear, definite, well-considered opinions on all matters that concern the safety,



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welfare, and progress of the people. Nor will it be enough that he has these opinions and keeps them to himself. He must declare himself; his voice must ring out in defiance of a vicious public opinion; he must set forth and reiterate his convictions without fear or favor. The great lack of humanity in all the past, and even now, is in the right kind of leaders. When all others fail, it should be known that the preacher walks in the way of righteousness, and that it will be safe to follow where he leads.

Furthermore, the preacher should be a reformer. There has been no time of which we have any record on the pages of history where there have not been abuses. In every age there have been wrongs inflicted upon the weak by the hand of power. In every age there have been, and, even now, there are in every land, the down-trodden and the oppressed, the helpless victims of injustice. There is as yet no land where the pure and holy principles of the Gospel of the Son of God thoroughly prevail, where they perfectly permeate and leaven the masses so that all are secure in the possession and enjoyment of all their rights. The preacher, if he is true to his Master, will take his place among those who toil most earnestly and persistently for the amelioration of the condition of all who suffer from whatever cause. No preacher has any right to be a fanatic, or a visionary, or an impracticable. The foolishness of many so-called reformers consists in frantic and futile attempts to accomplish the impossible. The right way is to give careful thought to the evils that afflict society, then find out the remedy, then do the next thing, and the next thing, and the next thing, howsoever small it may be, until the remedy is applied and the evil removed. The text book of the preacher is the Bible. Every genuine reform that has ever blessed humanity has its germinal principle in the Bible. The Book of God, the Book of Humanity, the Bible, is full of reformations and revolutions, and every one of them if wisely inaugurated and prosecuted must be a source of blessing to the human race. If the preacher knows the Bible, if he follows its teachings, he will be a reformer, and constantly will he be found in the work of uplifting the weak, while at the same time he smites with all the power God has given him every outrage and every villany. He will follow the example of Jesus and Paul, the two greatest reformers the world has ever known, and fearlessly stand for truth and jus-

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tice, no matter what the consequences may be to himself. The world needs

> "Preachers like Woolman,
> Or like those who bore
> The faith of Wesley
> To this western shore,
> And deemed no convert genuine till he broke
> Alike his servant's and the devil's yoke."

In these times in which we live there is as much need that preachers should be teachers, examples, leaders and reformers, as at any time in the history of Christianity or of the world. There are a thousand questions in which they need not especially concern themselves, and about which they need not discourse. But there are others which affect the intellectual and moral development of the people, and others still which are related in morals to the perpetuity of our free institutions, and others which are vital to the religious liberties and rights of the nation. The questions in either case need not be specified in detail; every intelligent person can enumerate and classify them. Concerning the first it is not expected that the clergy will undertake to instruct or control the people who may attend upon their ministrations. In regard to the second, every sensible, loyal, progressive American citizen holds firmly to the opinion that each preacher should wisely and at proper times discuss these all-important matters, and in the light of God's Word set forth the claims of duty, and by the highest moral persuasions incite and inspire all to its faithful performance. Any preacher who neglects so to do fails to answer the reasonable expectations of the people. He may not excuse himself with the vain plea that his congregation is made up of different parties, nor the still more worthless plea that he must not mix religion and politics. If he really loves God, if he loves his country, if he loves humanity, he must consider and discuss the great underlying principles that are essential to the continuance of good government and to the peace and prosperity of the country. He must condemn all moral and political wrongs, no matter how venerable, or respectable, or powerful, utterly regardless of what party may be responsible for their existence or continuance. He must voice the cry of the outraged and down-trodden of this and every other land. He must be the great-hearted champion of all the friendless and helpless.

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He must strike down with the whole strength of his indignant manhood any giant evil that dares to threaten the high, and holy, and chivalrous hopes of all good people in behalf of pure homes and heaven-exalted native land.

Such political preachers will always be in demand, and will challenge the love and the confidence of the best, and bravest, and of all true patriots. Politics and religion, when both are what they should be, will blend harmoniously, and together bless and uplift the people, and at the same time render strong and permanent all that is most excellent in our social life and civil institutions.

WILLARD F. MALLALIEU.

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# ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS A STRATEGIST.

## PART I.

BY ARCHIBALD FORBES.

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In an unique variety of directions the great Civil War evoked the ready, versatile aptitude of the American citizen; in none more remarkably than with regard to the superior military commands. By the defection of the great majority of the senior officers of the regular army, the North was left almost entirely denuded of available professional soldiers in the higher grades conversant with commands or experienced in war in the superior capacities. In the modern armies of the old world, high commands were then, as they still are, restricted to officers of long graduated military experience following on a technical professional education. Thanks to the comprehensive and thorough training of West Point, the officerhood of the army of the United States possessed a professional training of unequalled theoretical and practical efficiency and range. The seniors who went South carried with them in the nature of things the greater proportion of higher professional experience; but by reason of the national idiosyncracy combined with the justifiable self-confidence imparted by the West Point training, the comparative lack of experience in superior positions had singularly little if any adverse influence. There are two kinds of experience—the experience of routine, and the experience of initiative, resource, and decision. It was experience of the latter type which the Northern captains and majors, promoted by leaps and bounds to high commands, matched and assimilated with their West Point teachings in their swift advance; and a couple of campaigns made them truer veterans in the soldierly sense of the word than any amount of unwarlike longevity could have done.

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But the national aptitude was exemplified yet more saliently in the rapid yet thoroughly justified rise to high commands of men whom the outbreak of the war found innocent, or all but innocent, of any military training or experience. Sickles's first commission was signed in June, 1861, but he was a corps-commander at Chancellorsville, and it was with the intuition of a true tactician that at Gettysburg he was resolute to place his corps in that Peach Orchard position, his tenure of which balked Lee's desire to occupy it to advantage with his artillery and Longstreet's infantry. He left a limb there, but none of his alert versatility; when last I saw him he was vigorously indoctrinating Castelar and Figueras into the methods of "running" the newborn and short-lived Spanish republic. Blair was a civilian politician until the outbreak of the war, but he commanded the Eighteenth Corps with credit in Sherman's Atlanta campaign. Logan, it is true, had served as a volunteer in Mexico, but that service was a mere incident in the civilian career which was interrupted by the Civil War, throughout which he fought with great distinction and, in Sherman's phrase, "nobly sustained his reputation" in the command of the Army of the Tennessee before Atlanta after the fall of the lamented McPherson.

Yet another strange military phenomenon did this war present. The chief of staff of all men in an army is the man on whom devolves the most arduous, wide-ranging, technical, and responsible duties; his professional knowledge is expected to be all but universal, his experience profound, his military judgment prompt and ripe. Among famous chiefs of staff have been Gneisenau, Berthier, Soult, Jomini, Mansfield, Moltke, Voghts-Retz, Blumenthal, Stiele, all educated and trained soldiers, conversant, practically and theoretically, with the art of war. Among the chiefs of staff in the Union armies Humphreys and Webb were educated soldiers of exceptional professional ability; Marcy, of the domestic, if not nepotic, type of chief of staff, was at all events a graduate of West Point and had seen frontier service. But Rawlins, Garfield, and Butterfield were destitute of any military education or training, having been pure civilians until the beginning of the war. Such experience as they possessed had come to them in the rough-and-ready school of active warfare, yet each filled the exceptionally onerous part of chief of staff to a great army in the field, and against none of those

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quasi-extempore specialists has the most censorious critic adventured a charge of inefficiency.

That phase of aptitude for the art military which is capable of developing itself in true and far-seeing conception of strategical considerations of the higher order, is an attribute of singular rarity. It is intuitive; the possessor of it may live and die unaware of the endowment, unless circumstances occur which evoke its exercise. No assiduity of study or practice will earn it in its fullest for the man whom nature has not gifted, while it may reveal itself almost by surprise in one who is unaware that Clausewitz and Hamley have written a line, and who has never witnessed the setting of a squadron in the field. The warrior illuminated with this spark of natural genius is the great commander of his age—he is an Alexander, a Cæsar, a Frederick, a Napoleon. In the civilian possessor it may lie wholly obscured and dormant; while, again, it has irradiated and inspired a Rienzi, a Luther, a Loyola. Ready-witted, many-sided, zealous and ardent as were the soldiers of the Union alike professional and volunteer, it cannot be maintained that in the early days of the Civil War any one of them gave manifestation that heaven had endowed him with the gift of a strategic genius. But the attribute was present in the rich mental equipment of the great civilian whom the wisdom of Providence placed at the head of the State in that time of trouble. It is the object of the present writer to elucidate the fact that Abraham Lincoln was gifted with the faculty of intuitive strategic perception in a degree which, by reason of the multiplicity of other eminent qualities which adorned the character of that illustrious man, has not received adequate recognition at the hands of his countrymen. It is with natural diffidence that a foreigner ventures to undertake this task; but the doing of it has been long on his mind, and a well-intentioned effort cannot be taken as an impertinence.

It is quite improbable that his experience as a captain of mounted volunteers in the Black Hawk War should have awakened in Lincoln any consciousness of his possession of strategic aptitude. His biographers * tell us that during McClellan's illness in December, 1861, the President "gave himself night and day to the study of the military situation. He read a large number of strategical works. He held long conferences with

* Nicolay and Hay, Vol. 5, p. 155.

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eminent generals and admirals, and astonished them by his special knowledge and the keen intelligence of his questions." But five months earlier, in the midst of the dismay and the disorganization resulting from the *débâcle* of Bull Run, without the benefit of the study of "strategical works," and independently of the counsels of "eminent generals and admirals," Lincoln had composed a memorandum defining the military policy and measures which in his judgment were the lessons of the reverse just incurred. The whole of this document, wise and far-seeing as were its terms, need not be quoted. Its various clauses enjoin refrainment for the time from offensive operations, the maintenance of the existing positions, and the sedulous organization of the new levies into methodized and disciplined armies. Those matters specified, the President set down the following pregnant injunction:

> "When the foregoing shall have been substantially attended to: Let Manassas Junction (or some point on one or other of the railroads near it) and Strasburg be seized and permanently held, with an open line from Washington to Manassas, and an open line from Harper's Ferry to Strasburg —the military men to find the way of doing these things."

If Lincoln had never written another sentence, these lines would evince his possession of an accurate mental *coup d'œil*, and an instinctive discernment of strategic points of profound importance at once in a military and a political sense. What was the obvious military policy of the North? Of course its dominant purpose was to put down the rebellion. But as regarded the line of the Potomac there were peculiar conditions, some natural, some artificial, indeed, but none the less stringent, which interposed themselves to the complication of the main problem.

The National Capital stood on the very outer edge of Union territory. The Shenandoah Valley was for the South a protected avenue leading northward into the rear of Washington and straight towards the heart of the most fertile provinces of the Union. The conviction of many wise Southerners may have been right—and that conviction has been warmly supported by Colonel Chesney—that invasions of Northern territory by Southern armies were deplorable mistakes; and that, quite apart from military results, it was throwing away a great political advantage to reduce what should have been a purely defensive struggle for rights to the lower level of aggressive fighting for retaliation and mastery. Be

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this as it may, it would appear unquestionable that the primary duty of the North, a duty coming in front of that ulterior duty of reducing the South to submission, was to take measures for securing its own soil from outrage, and its capital from insult. In a war between hostile nations invasion is reckoned a triumph for the invader and a humiliation to the invaded; how much more cogent are those ascriptions in such a contest as that which the North was waging against the South? Nor, indeed, to the former were the sentimental humiliation and the injuries inflicted on the population of the territory overrun all the despite and damage that invasion by the latter might involve; on the invading bayonets until the catastrophe of Gettysburg there hovered the contingency of the recognition of the South by the European powers.

Such considerations, when Johnston's foreposts were within sight of the Capitol, and when McDowell's raw levies had degenerated into a mob, must have been vitally present in Lincoln's mind when he wrote the injunction which is quoted above. Before the strong man armed should go forth again to the battle, he would take precautions for the keeping of his own house. The President's directions in this regard betoken a singular insight. Had he been a practical soldier he would probably have specified the occupation of an intermediate strategic point in front of Salem at the apex of the salient bend made by the Manassas Gap Railroad, to divide the long interval between the positions at Manassas and at Strasburg; and perhaps rather than in the latter vicinity he would have located the position in the Shenandoah Valley somewhere about midway between Strasburg and Cedarville, so as to cover the Manassas and Chester gaps and the Luray road down the Massanutten Valley, as well as the great pike traversing the main valley.

It is not too much to say that those three positions, strongly fortified and adequately armed for permanent occupation, capable each of holding 10,000 to 15,000 men, would have protected Union territory from invasion from the lower Potomac on the east to the North Mountains range on the west, and would have mitigated if not dispelled the chronic anxiety for the protection of the National Capital, which for years clogged the enterprise of the Northern forces in the eastern section of the theatre of war. Had those fortress camps been created, strong for defence and possessing important potentialities of offence, one or other of

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them would have been in the path of a hostile army moving upon Washington by whatever line of advance, since that army neither could have afforded to mask the obstacle, nor could have passed it unregarded, leaving its own communications in peril. Consider what those positions would have affected, averted, obstructed. The pestilent guerillas of Loudoun and Fauquier would have been cowed. The rich region of the lower Shenandoah would have been alienated from Confederate uses and its produce been at the service of the North. In face of the barrier which the Strasburg position would have presented, Jackson's campaign of May-June, 1862, the prescribed scheme of which was "to press the enemy at Harper's Ferry, threaten invasion into Maryland, and an attempt on Washington, and thus make the most energetic diversion possible," could not have been prosecuted, and probably would never have been enjoined; McDowell would have joined the Army of the Potomac, and the Peninsular campaign might have had another issue.

Had there been entrenched positions at Salem and Manassas there would have been no second Bull Run, since neither Jackson nor Longstreet would have ventured through Thoroughfare Gap, having the Salem position on flank and in rear, and since the Manassas position would have covered Pope's depot of supplies and have afforded his army a protective gathering-point, to assail which would have been rash, and to turn which would have been reckless. Had there been no second Bull Run Lee would not have adventured his Maryland campaign. But, even assuming Pope to have been crushed, if the positions indicated by Lincoln had existed Lee would assuredly have thought twice before moving into Maryland, leaving them in his rear on his lines of communication. Long admits that the unexpected discovery of a garrison in Harper's Ferry paralyzed the execution of his chief's ulterior designs pending the reduction of that place, which fell by a *coup de main*. These designs Lee would scarcely have entertained in the full knowledge of the potential influence of those positions which he must have possessed had they existed—places too strong to be attempted by a *coup de main*. He would have found them formidable if not insurmountable obstacles to the prosecution of the campaign in Pennsylvania to which he directed himself after the victory of Chancellorsville. During his great opponent's long-drawn-out movement athwart Virginia, Hooker could find or

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make no opportunity for acting on Lincoln's quaintly-put suggestion: "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it at Fredericksburg, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?" Pleasanton, indeed, claimed to have enforced on Lee the valley route to the Potomac instead of that to the eastward of the Blue Ridge. But on either line Lee would have found one of the fortress camps enjoined by Lincoln in his memorandum of June 1861, had effect been given to its requirement. From either or from both positions the "animal" in its slimness would have run risk of damage, although scarcely that of severance; they would have been too strong to be taken without regular approaches and seige artillery, one or other of them would have threatened Lee's communications whatever line they could have followed, and he must have left a division to observe the menacing one, a weakening of force he could ill afford.

Finally, there can be little question that if there had been a strongly entrenched position in the vicinity of Strasburg, Early, in the summer of 1864, would never have seen the lower valley, far less have fought on the Monocacy and fluttered the Volscians of the Washingtonian Corioli. For in that case Hunter, withdrawing from his stroke at Lynchburg, would have made shift to retire on that position down the valley instead of diverging as he did into the Kanawha region, in default of support short of the Potomac.

None of those entrenched positions was ever constructed. In no case was there any material hindrance. For the work to be done east of Manassas Gap there was available the interval between Johnston's withdrawal from before Washington in March and Pope's retreat in the end of August, 1862. Throughout the winter of 1861–62 Jackson never had more than 4,000 men in the Shenandoah Valley, and if during that time Johnston's presence at Manassas had contributed to deter from construction work in the Strasburg vicinity, the interval between Jackson's retirement after Kernstown and his re-descent on Banks more than a month later, would have sufficed for the work. Why the President's injunction was not impetrated, I know not; nor does its non-fulfilment in any degree affect the argument for Lincoln's strategic discernment based upon its terms.

It cannot be denied that McClellan, notwithstanding the de-

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fects of his military idiosyncracy, was a scientific officer of exceptional capacity. There is no evidence whether or not he knew of Lincoln's memorandum, but the following extract from that melancholy publication, "McClellan's Own Story," is a remarkable tribute, conscious or unconscious, to the President's strategic prescience as illustrated in the memorandum quoted above:

"The instructions I gave (before leaving for the Peninsula) were to the effect that Manassas Junction should be strongly entrenched . . . . and that General Banks should put the mass of his force there . . . . ; the railroad from Washington to Manassas, and thence to Strasburg, to be at once put in running order, and protected by blockhouses . . . . a force to be strongly entrenched at or near the point where the railroad crosses the Shenandoah, Chester Gap to be also occupied by a detachment well entrenched. . . . Under the arrangement the immediate approaches to Washington would be covered by a strong force well entrenched and able to fall back on the city if overpowered; while if the enemy advanced down the Shenandoah the force entrenched at Strasburg would be able to hold him in check until assistance could reach it by rail from Manassas. If these measures had been carried into effect Jackson's subsequent advance down the Shenandoah would have been impracticable . . . . and, again, with Manassas entrenched as I directed, Pope would have had a secure base of operations from which to manœuvre, and the result of his campaign might have been very different."

One paragraph of Lincoln's memorandum written immediately after the Bull Run disaster has been quoted and its strategic potentialities elucidated. There followed it another paragraph which, as strengthening the argument for the President's possession of instinctive strategic perception, is not less worthy of notice. It runs thus: "This done,"—viz., the things enjoined in a previous paragraph—"a joint movement from Cairo on Memphis; and from Cincinnati on East Tennessee."

Commodore Davis occupied Memphis within a year after this sentence was penned; but it was not until fifteen months later that Burnside marched into Knoxville, and the staunch loyalists of East Tennessee had to suffer and endure for several months longer before they were able to call themselves once more entirely free. Yet before the blood of the first pitched battle of the war was dry the President was illustrating by the precept just quoted his full and anxious consciousness, not less of the strategic than of the political importance of the occupation of East Tennessee by the Union arms; for the hill country of East Tennessee, with the northwestern section of North Carolina, was a re-entering wedge

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of loyal unionism penetrating the vitals of the Confederacy. It was traversed by the railway line which constituted the main link of connection between the eastern and the western and southwestern railroad systems of the rebel power—a line the dislocation of which would entail on that power the most serious mischief. "A glance at the map," write Lincoln's most recent biographers,* "and a study of attendant circumstances, can leave no doubt that it was entirely possible to have seized and held the mountain region of East Tennessee, and that such an occupation would have been a severance of the rebel Confederacy almost as complete and damaging to its military strength as the opening of the Mississippi."

In the end of September, 1861, the President followed up his curt precept of July with a more detailed and specific direction. "I wish," he wrote, "a movement made to seize and hold a point on the railroad connecting Virginia and Tennessee, near the mountain pass called Cumberland Gap." After an accurate summary of the military situation on either side in and about the region such an advance would traverse, he expresses his intention that it and McClellan's projected movement in the coast region should be made simultaneously. While preparations were in course, the vigilant defensive was to be maintained. When all should be ready, he directs that Sherman, remaining immobile in his position southward of Louisville, should simply "hold" his adversary, Buckner, "while all [the troops] at Cincinnati and all at Louisville, with all on the line, concentrate rapidly at Lexington, and thence [march] to Thomas's camp [at Camp Dick Robinson, on the way to Cumberland Gap], joining him, and the whole [move] thence upon the Gap." Recognizing the existing difficulties of transport, the indefatigable man introduced into his message to Congress, in the beginning of December, 1861, a recommendation, "as a military measure," of the construction of a strategic railway, from the most advisable point on the existing system, across eastern Kentucky into East Tennessee; an operation which, if carried out, would probably have shortened the war. He inspired McClellan, promoted *per saltum* to the command of the army of the United States, with the zeal for the military occupation of East Tennessee which burned in himself; and that chief kept impressing on Buell, whom he had commissioned to

*Nicolay and Hay, Vol. V., p. 73.

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the service, his conviction that "strategical and political considerations alike render a prompt movement in force on East Tennessee imperative." How Buell, disregarding his commanding officer's strenuous representations and the President's trenchant comment that he "would rather have a point on the railroad south of the Cumberland Gap than Nashville, because it cuts a great artery of the enemy's communication, which Nashville does not,"—how Buell, I repeat, took his own stiff, refractory way—are not those things written in the chronicles of the perturbed period? But that Buell was self-willed and contumacious cannot obscure the recognition of Lincoln's prompt and shrewd perception, and of his anxious prosecution of correct strategical objects and methods having for their result the military and political utilization of the East Tennessee region.

For seven long months, from the disaster of Bull Run until the beginning of March, 1862, the Union underwent a period of grievous humiliation. Within sight of the dome of the National Capitol stood the outposts of a rebel army, whose cannon commanded the lower Potomac, and the mass of which held an entrenched position within a couple of easy marches from the Washington defences. Against this degrading situation, long endured with exemplary patience, the nation and its head at length began to chafe; and in the beginning of December, 1861, Lincoln handed to the military chief whom already he was gradually finding out, a memorandum outlining an operation having for its object the dislodgement of Johnston from his insolent position at Manassas. Its terms, slightly condensed, are as follows (the figures were furnished by McClellan):

"Suppose that 50,000 of the troops southwest of the river (Potomac) move forward and menace the enemy at Centreville. That 21,000, being the remainder of the available force now there move rapidly to the crossing of the Occoquan by the road through Alexandria towards Richmond; there to be joined by the 33,000 men now being the whole movable force from northeast of the river, which, having been landed from the Potomac just below the mouth of the Occoquan, should move by land up the south side [right bank] 'of that stream to the crossing point indicated' [where the two bodies should unite]; and then the whole move together by the road thence, to Brentville and beyond to the [Orange and Alexandria] railroad just south of its crossing at Broad Run, the railroad bridges having been previously destroyed by a cavalry detachment sent forward in advance."

In so far as it concerned "grand strategy"—the correct recognition of the point at which it was imperative to strike—this memoran-

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dum is unexceptionable; in the practical strategic detail which consisted in the effective direction of troops on that decisive point, it is perhaps less happy. The expressed conviction of General McDowell, it is true, cannot be disregarded, that the result of a movement in force on both flanks of the enemy must result in a battle in which the Northern forces would be victorious. Every respect is due to the opinion of that good and honest soldier. But it is unquestionable that the project as outlined involved in full measure the proverbial risks and uncertainties of a combined movement engaged in with raw troops in an unfamiliar country, complicated by unascertained obstacles and imperfect intercommunication, and thus liable to the contingency of failure to accomplish simultaneous coöperation. If, indeed, that simultaneous coöperation came off deftly, then certainly Johnston would have found himself in that disagreeable predicament which German soldiers knew by the term, "In der taktischen Mitte." But if the Northern forces had failed to keep punctual tryst, then, and yet more fully, had he taken the prompt offensive, would Johnston have been in the enjoyment of the beneficent phase of interior lines. Nearly of equal strength as he was to each of the proposed Northern contingents, his opportunities of timely information, his divers alternatives of action, and his possession of an entrenched position from which to sally and into which to retire, seemed to bring it within the bounds of possibility that the rebel general might still have been at Manassas after having sent both of the Federal bodies back to their lines in discomfiture.

After keeping the President's memorandum for some ten days, McClellan returned it with the unceremoniously curt observation: "Information received recently leads me to believe that the enemy could meet us with nearly equal forces; and I have now my mind actively turned towards another plan of campaign that I do not think at all anticipated by the enemy, nor by many of our own people."

So far as I can discover, this is McClellan's first allusion to the project of a campaign against Richmond from a base on the Chesapeake. There is no hint of such a scheme in his wide-ranging memorandum of August 2; its tenor, indeed, is rather to the contrary. So late, indeed, as the end of November he intimated that the "crushing defeat" of the rebel army "at Manassas" was the great object to be accomplished; and that

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the advance upon it "should not be postponed beyond November 25." Lincoln's proposal was simply an echo of the national feeling and anxiety put into definite shape. McClellan was not a fighting general; shall we greatly err in putting forward the suggestion, that, since he began to perceive he would be squarely forced to go against Johnston if he had no other feasible alternative to substitute, he invented the Chesapeake project during those ten days as a plausible evasion of an unpalatable compulsion? But, so it may be replied, *cælum non animam mutant*—McClellan must have laid his account with having some fighting from his Chesapeake base, and was not deterred by this prospect from penetrating to the vicinity of Richmond: what, then, justifies the surmise that it was a repugnance to fighting which deterred him from trying conclusions with Johnston at Manassas? The clear answer to this is that McClellan was just as reluctant to fight in the Peninsula and before Richmond as he was in front of Washington; and this for the same baseless reason. He did not fight Johnston at Manassas because he believed, or affected to believe, that his adversary could oppose 150,000 men to his own 100,000. It was simply the logical sequence that he should not fight when he found himself before Richmond with 100,000 men whom he called 85,000, while in his imagination the adversary standing over against him was 200,000 strong.*

When one speaks of fighting, it is of course offensive battles, or defensive battles accepted deliberately, not on compulsion but with a strategic object, which are meant. The stubborn and bloody conflicts sustained in front of Richmond by the staunch and gallant Army of the Potomac were all fought on the compulsory defensive, and the discomfiture of that brave host was wholly wrought by its chief's studied declinature of the timely initiative. At no one of those battles was he present in person save during a part of Malvern Hill. If Williamsburg is to be styled an offensive battle, McClellan was miles in the rear until late in the afternoon of the second day's fighting; and when he did arrive, he characteristically proceeded to convert what offensive there had been into the passive defensive, an attitude which naturally resulted in the nocturnal withdrawal of the enemy. The only two offensive battles fought by McClellan he engaged in after he had seen the cards in his adversary's hand.

* "McClellan's Own Story," p. 392.

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There are three types of commander: he who both organizes and fights; he who can fight but cannot organize; he who has a superlative gift for organization, but cannot fight. McClellan was a commander of the last type.

The military situation in Washington, in January 1862, was one of extreme tension. The President, who by the constitution was commander in chief of the armed forces of the United States, supported by the voice of the nation and the counsel of wise and disinterested generals, had pronounced for a direct advance from the Washington base. McClellan, on the other hand, who was General in Chief of the army of the United States, was set on a counter project of a movement on Richmond by the lower Chesapeake. Which of these two powers was to prevail? For the time, at least, it seemed that the head of the State was resolved to assert to the uttermost the courage of his convictions. Of his own unaided instance he issued a "General War Order"—corresponding in effect to the "General Idea" for a campaign with which soldiers are familiar—directing that on a day named (February 22) there should begin a simultaneous general movement of the land and sea forces of the Union against the insurgent forces; specifying in detail the several commands which should take part in this great operation; and enacting that all civil and military officers, including the general in chief, were to be "severally held to their strict and full responsibility for prompt execution of this order." The date for action which it specified was probably premature, but apart from this detail, the full significance of this order seems, in a strategic sense, to deserve greater recognition than has ever been accorded to it. To Grant, in his promotion to the command of the Union armies, has been credited the earliest realization of the inadequate results obtained by the disconnected and inharmonious action of the various commands; and his altered method of a "simultaneous movement all along the line"—his "design to work all parts of the army together, and somewhat towards a common centre"—has always been held, and justly so, an evidence of his genius for "grand strategy." But Lincoln, pure civilian as he was, by his order of January 27, 1862, had anticipated the gifted and practised soldier by more than two years in the appreciation of the advantages of concerted action towards a common purpose.

Following naturally on his "General War Order," there was



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issued by the President to General McClellan a "Special War Order"—the "Special Idea" of the soldier—commanding that the Army of the Potomac, after due provision for the safety of Washington, should move out with the object of "seizing and occupying a point on the railroad southwestward of Manassas Junction, the advance to begin on or before February 22." It is to be noted that the risky strategy of the December memorandum was now abandoned in favor of the better policy of undivided forces directed on a truer objective.

These "War Orders" were definite, deliberate, and momentous deliverances, sternly enjoining obedience on all whom they concerned, specifically on the General-in-Chief. Yet three days after the issue of the "Special Order," Lincoln was writing thus to McClellan: "You and I have distinct and different plans for a movement of the Army of the Potomac. . . . If you will give me satisfactory answers to the following questions I shall gladly yield my plan to yours." The questions need not be quoted; in effect they ask in what respects the Chesapeake plan was superior to the Manassas plan. McClellan's reply was voluminous, plausible, and full of ingenious special pleading. Could McClellan have fought as well as he wrote, he would have taken rank among the great commanders.

It seems obvious, however, that the question at issue was not in any possible sense one of alternative or competition between Manassas and the lower Chesapeake, seeing that in the nature of things, not less for the national self-respect than as a military necessity, Johnston had to be conclusively dislodged before the other adventure could be gone upon. It appears extraordinary that neither the President nor the council of war of general officers of the Army of the Potomac convened by McClellan at the President's instance should have given expression to any consciousness of the obligatory character of this sequence of enterprises. It was almost as if in regard to this all-important point the masterfulness of McClellan had hypnotized President and generals into blindness. The majority of the council voted in favor of the Chesapeake project *simpliciter*. Keyes followed suit on condition of the previous reduction of the Confederate batteries commanding the Potomac; no voice among eight concurrents was raised to stipulate for the prior molestation of Johnston. The President, having sacrificed his own convictions and gone counter

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to the feeling of the nation, had no reservations in his support of McClellan's plan save that the security of Washington should be insured, and that the Potomac should be freed from the dominance of the rebel batteries. As for McClellan, certainly he had no intention of driving the Confederate army from the vicinity of the National Capital, and so little did he regard the inconvenience and humiliation of the blockade of the Potomac by rebel batteries that it was with great reluctance he made preparations to obey the positive orders for the dislodgement, nor was he ashamed to have the rendezvous at Annapolis of the transport for his projected expedition.

So far as molestation at McClellan's hands was concerned, Johnston's outposts might have watched, or, indeed, hurried, the embarkation of McClellan's final detail. If McClellan's all-but-accomplished attempt had succeeded, to leave Washington garrisoned by a few thousand efficients, the stars and bars might have been seen in Pennsylvania Avenue. In such an event, even on the absurd assumption that Richmond was to the Confederacy what Washington was to the Union, the prompt "swapping of Queens," to use Lee's later phrase, was by no means assured when a half share in the transaction was on McClellan's hands. Had Johnston found Washington too hard a nut to crack, he might nevertheless well have held the attempt worth making; and with his command of railroads, and his knowledge, to quote himself, that "McClellan seems not to value time especially," he might fairly have laid his account with reaching Richmond in advance of that commander after having failed to occupy Washington.

Johnston's withdrawal from Manassas in early March was not, as McClellan and his supporters maintained, because of his discovery of the Chesapeake scheme. In his memoirs the Confederate commander specifically states that his retirement was wholly due to the apprehension that the Federal army was preparing to move through Maryland under cover of the Potomac, and cross the river to the mouth of the Potomac Creek, where it would be at least two days' marches nearer Richmond than was the Army of Northern Virginia on Bull Run. But for this incontrovertible evidence it would be incredible that Johnston should have known nothing of McClellan's plan of campaign until the preparations were all but complete, when it is remembered that Stanton had publicly advertised for transports in the middle of

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February, and that the ports of preparation and assemblage were full of Southern sympathizers. The underground telegraph in those early days must have worked badly.

ARCHD. FORBES.

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# PREHISTORIC TIMES IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

BY SIR J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

## II.

THE remarkable record of the early distribution of the sons of Noah ("Toledoth" of the sons of Noah), in Genesis X., may be regarded, relatively to most of the nations it refers to, as a scrap of prehistoric lore of the most intensely interesting character. From the old "Phaleg" of Bochart to the recent commentaries of Delitzch and other German scholars, it has received a host of more or less conjectural explanations; and while all agree in extolling its value and importance as a "Beginning of History," nothing can be more various than the views taken of it. Only in the light of the recent discoveries and researches already referred to can we arrive at a clear conception of its import; but with these and some common sense we may hope to be more fortunate than the older interpreters. It is necessary, however, to explain here that, for want of a little scientific precision, many modern archæologists still fail in their interpretations. They tell us that the Toledoth are not properly "ethnological," but rather "ethnographical," and that we are to regard the document as referring, not to the genealogical affiliations of nations, but to their accidental geographical positions at the time of the record.

Now this is precisely what the writer, with a sure scientific instinct, carefully guards against, and explicitly informs us he did not intend. He tells us that he gives the "*generations* of the sons of Noah" and their descendants, and at the ends of the three lists relating to these sons he is careful to say that he has given them "in their lands, each according to his language, after their families, in their nations," or the formula is slightly varied into "after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, in their nations." Lastly, in the conclusion of the whole table he reiterates, "These are the *families* of the sons of Noah, according to their generations, after their nations." All these statements, let it be observed, are acknowledged to be parts of one (Elohistic) document. It is clear, therefore, that the writer intends us to

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understand that the determining elements of his classification are neither physical characters nor accidents of geographical distribution, but descent and original language—two primary and scientific grounds of classification, and which common sense requires us to adhere to in interpreting the document, whose value will depend on the certainty with which the writer could ascertain facts as to these criteria: criteria which are, of course, less open to the observation of later inquirers, who may find difficulty in ascertaining either descent or *original* language, and in default of these may be obliged to resort to other grounds of classification.

It may be said, however, that if taken in the sense obviously intended by the writer, the list will not correspond with the facts. If so, so much the worse for it. A few data have, however, to be taken into the account in order to give this early writer fair play.

1. The record has nothing to do with antediluvian peoples or with survivors of the deluge other than the sons of Noah, if there were any such. Therefore, those ethnologists who are sceptical as to the historical deluge, and who postulate an uninterrupted advance of man through long ages of semi-bestial brutality, have nothing in common with our narrator, and cannot possibly believe his statements.

2. The document does not profess to be a series of ethnological inferences from the present or ancient characters of different nations, but an actual historical statement of the known migrations of men from a common centre in Shinar, the Sumir of the Chaldeans.

3. It relates only to the primary distribution of men from their alleged centre, over certain districts of Western Asia, Eastern Europe and Northern Africa, and does not profess to know anything of their subsequent migrations or history.

4. It is thus not responsible for those later, even if very ancient, changes which displaced one race by another or obliged one race to move on by the pressure of another, nor for any changes of language or mixtures of races which may have occurred in these movements.

5. It affirms nothing as to the physical characters of the races referred to, except as they may be inferred from heredity, but it implies some resemblance in language between the derivatives of the same stock, and this, be it observed, notwithstanding the

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added narrative of the confusion of tongues at Babel,* which the narrator does not regard as interfering with the fact of languages originally forming a few branches proceeding from a common stock.

6. If we ask what our narrator supposed to be the original or Noachic tongue, we might infer from his three lines of descent, and from the locality of the dispersion and the episode of Nimrod's prehistoric kingdom, that the primitive language of Chaldea would be the original stem; and this we now know from authentic written records to have been an agglutinate language of the type usually known as Turanian, and more closely allied to the Tartar and Chinese tongues than to other kinds of speech. It would follow that what we now call Semitic and Aryan or Japhetic forms of speech must, in the view of our ancient authority, date from the sequelæ of the great "confusion of tongues."

These points being premised, we can clear away the fogs which have been gathered around this little luminous spot in the early history of the world, and can trace at least the principal ethnic lines of radiation from it. Though the writer gives us three main branches of affiliation of the children of Noah, he really refers to six principal lines of migration, three of them belonging to that multifarious progeny of Ham, in which he seems to include both the Turanian and Negroid types of our ordinary classifications, as well as some of the brown and yellow races.

One of the lines of affiliation of Ham leads eastward and is not traced; but if the Cushite people who are said to have gone up the Pison to the land which in earlier antediluvian times was that of "gold and bedolach and shoham stone," that is along the fertile valley of Susiana, were those primitive people preceding the Elamites of history who are said to have spoken an agglutinate language,† then we have at least one stage of this migration.

* Held by some to belong to another (Jahvistic) document, but certainly incorporated by the early editor.

† Sayce, ("Hibbert lectures") and Bagster's "Records of the Past." Inscriptions of Cyrus published in the last volume of the latter appear to set at rest the vexed questions relating to early Elam. It would seem that in the earliest times Cushites and Semitic Elamites contended for the fertile plains and the mountains east of the Tigris, and were finally subjugated by Japhetic Medes and Persians. Thus this region first formed a part of the Cushite Nimrodic empire (Gen. II., 11, X., 8); it then became the seat of a conquering Elamite power (Gen. XIV., 1 to 4); and was finally a central part of the Medo-Persian empire. All this agrees with the Bible and the inscriptions, as well as in the main with Herodotus.

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A second line leads west to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, to Egypt and to North Africa. A third passes southwestward through Southern Arabia and across the Red Sea into interior Africa. To the sons of Japhet are ascribed two lines of migration, one through Asia Minor and the northern coasts of the Mediterranean; another northwest, around the Black Sea. The Semites would seem to have been a less wandering people at the first, but subsequently to have encroached on and mingled with the Hamites, and especially on that western line of migration leading to the Mediterranean. All this can be gathered from undisputed national names in the several lines of migration above sketched, without touching on the more obscure and doubtful names or referring to tribes which remained near the original centre. We must, however, inquire a little more particularly into the movements bearing on Palestine and Egypt.

So far as the writer in Genesis is informed, he does not seem to be aware of any sons of Japhet having colonized Palestine or Egypt. It was only in the later reflux of population that the sons of Javan gained a foothold in these regions. They were both colonized primarily by Hamites and subsequently intruded on by Semites.

Here a little prehistoric interlude noted by the writer, or by an author whom he quotes, gives a valuable clue not often attended to. The oldest son of Ham, Cush, begat Nimrod, the mighty hunter and prehistoric conquerer, who organized the first empire in that Euphratean plain which subsequently became the nucleus of the Babylonian and Assyrian power. The site of his kingdom cannot be doubted, for cities well known in historic times, Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh were included in it, as well as probably Nineveh. The first point which I wish to make in this connection is that we cannot suppose this to have been a Semitic empire. Its nucleus must have been composed of Nimrod's tribal connections, who were Hamites and presumably Cushites. He is, indeed, said to have gone into or invaded the land of Ashur, and, if by this is meant the Semitic Ashur, he must have been hostile to these people, as indeed the Chaldeans were in later times. The next point to be noted is that the Nimrodic empire must have originated at a time when the Cushites were still strong on the Lower Euphrates, and before that great movement of these people which carried them across Arabia to

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the Upper Nile and ultimately caused the name Cush or Kesh to be almost exclusively applied to the Ethiopians of Africa. Now is this history, or mere legend ?

The answer of archæology is not doubtful. We have in the earliest monuments of Chaldea evidence that there was a pre-Semitic population, to whom, indeed, it is believed that the Semites who invaded the country owed much of their civilization. A recent writer has said that "outside of the Bible we know nothing of Nimrod," but others see a trace of him in the legendary hero of Chaldean tradition, Gisdubar or Gingamos, while others think that, as Na-marod, he may be the original of Merodach, the tutelary god of Babylon. Independently of this, there was certainly an early Chaldean and "Turanian" empire, which must have had some founder, whatever his name, and which was not Semitic or Aryan, and therefore what an early writer would call Hamitic. Further, our author traces from this region the great Cushite line of migration, which includes such well-known names as Seba, Sabta, Sheba and Dedan, into Arabia on the way to Africa. Here the Egyptian monuments take up the tale, and inform us of a South Arabian and East African people, the people of Pun or Punt, represented as like to themselves and to the Kesh or Ethiopians, and who thus correspond to the Arabian Cushites of Genesis. In accordance with this the Abyssinian of to-day is scarcely distinguishable from the old Punites as represented on the Egyptian monuments.*

Thus the primitive Cushite kingdom and one of the great lines of Cushite migration are established by ancient monuments. Let it be further observed that, as represented in Egypt, these primitive Ethiopians were not black, but of a reddish or brownish color, like the Egyptians themselves, and that their migration explains the resemblance of the customs and religion of early Egypt to those of Babylonia, and the ascription by the Egyptians of the origin of their gods to the land of Pun.

The remaining sons of Ham, Mizraim, Put and Canaan, are not mentioned in connection with the old Nimrodic kingdom, and seem to have moved westward at a very early period. They were already "in the land," and apparently constituted a considerable citizen population before the migration of Abraham.

* The recent discoveries of Glaser with reference to the early civilization of Southern Arabia also bear on this point.

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Mizraim represents the twin populations of the Delta and Lower Egypt, and the Tel-el-Amarna tablets inform us that long before the time of Moses Mitzor was the ordinary name of Egypt, while we know that its early population was closely allied in features and language to the Cushites.

Canaan* heads a central line of migration, and Sidon and Cheth are said to have been his leading sons. The first represents the Phœnician maritime power of Northern Syria, the second that great nation known to the Egyptians as Kheta and to the Assyrians as Khatti, whose territory extended from Carchemish on the Euphrates through the great plain of Coele-Syria to Hebron in Southern Palestine and not improbably into the Delta. They were a people whose language was allied to that of Cushite Chaldea,† whose features were of a coarser type than those of their more southern confrères, and who, according to the Egyptian annals, were closely allied with the Amorites, Jebusites and other people identified with Canaan in the Old Testament. The Cheta, at one time known only as the sons of Heth in the old Testament, may be said in our time to have experienced a sudden resurrection, and now bulk so largely in the minds of archæologists that their importance is in danger of being exaggerated.

A significant note is added: "Afterwards were the families of the Canaanites scattered abroad." How could this be? Their line of migration and settlement led directly to the great sea, and was hemmed in by that of the Japhetites on the north and of the Cushites on the south; but they made the sea their highway, and soon there was no coast from end to end of the Mediterranean and far along the European and African shores of the Atlantic that was not familiar with the Phœnician Canaanite. But it may be said these Phœnicians were a Semitic people. They certainly spoke a Semitic language allied to the Hebrew, but what right have we to attribute Semitic languages solely to the descendants of the Biblical Shem? Even if these languages originated with them they may have spread to other peoples, as we know they replaced the old Turanian speech of Babylonia, just as the Arabic has extinguished other languages in Egypt itself. In whatever way the Phœnicians acquired a Semitic tongue, in

* Canaan with our old historian is the name of a man, but it came to designate first the "low country" or coast region of Western Palestine and then the whole of Palestine.

† Conder and others call it Turanian.

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physical character they were not Semitic, but closely allied to the Hittites, the Philistines, and the people of Mitzor or Egypt. The Egyptian sculptures prove this, and the celebrated Capuan bust of Hannibal reminds us of the features of the old Hyksos kings of Egypt, who were no doubt of Hamite or Turanian stock.

This is a fair summary of the testimony of the writer of Genesis tenth, as compared with the general evidence of history and archæology. But we have something further to learn from what may be called the fossil remains of prehistoric peoples as embodied in the Egyptian monuments, which are conversant with all the nations around the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

The Egyptians divided the nations known to them into four groups, of which they have given us several representations in tombs and public buildings. One of these consisted of their own race. The other three were as follows: (1) Southern peoples mostly of dark complexions, ranging from light brown to black. These included the Cushites, Punites, and negroes. (2) Western peoples mostly of fair complexions inhabiting the islands and northern coasts of the Mediterranean, the "Hanebu" or chiefs of the north or of the isles, with some populations of North Africa, the so-called white Lybians and Maxyans. (3) Northern or northeastern peoples, or those of Syria and the neighboring parts of Western Asia, Amorites, Hittites, Edomites, Arabs, etc., usually represented as of yellowish complexion.

The first of these divisions evidently corresponds with the line of Cushite migration of Genesis, extending from Shinar through Southern Arabia, Nubia, and Ethiopia, and of which the negroes are apparently degraded members pushed in advance of the others, while the populations of Pun and Kesh, the southern Arabians and their relatives in Africa, closely resemble, as figured in the monuments, the Egyptians themselves.

The second group of the Egyptian classification represents those so-called Aryan peoples of Europe and its islands, and parts of Northern Africa, of whom the Greeks are a typical race, and who in Genesis are said to have possessed the "Isles of the Gentiles;" though in the wave of migration from the east they were in many places preceded by non-Aryan races, Pelasgians, Iberians, etc., possibly wandering Hamitic tribes, while they were also invaded by that scattering abroad of the Phœnician Canaanites referred to in Genesis. They are represented in the

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monuments as people with European features, fair complexions, and sometimes fair hair and blue eyes.

The third group is the most varied of the whole, because its seat in Syria was a meeting-place of many tribes. Its most ancient members, the Phœnicians and allied nations, were, according to the monuments, men resembling the Egyptian and Cushite type, and these, no doubt, were those pre-Semitic and pre-historic nations of Canaan referred to in the remarkable notes regarding the Emim, Zuzim, etc., in the second chapter of Deuteronomy, which may be regarded as a foot-note to the Toledoth of Genesis tenth. These aborigines were invaded by men of different types. First, we find in the monuments that the Amorites of the Palestine hills were a fair people with somewhat European features like some of the present populations of the Lebanon. When returning over the Lebanon in 1884 we met a large company of men with camels and donkeys carrying merchandise. They were fair-complexioned and with brown hair, and from their features I might have supposed they were Scottish Highlanders. I was told they were Druses, and they were evidently much like, as are indeed many of the modern fellaheen of the Palestine hills, the Amar as they are pictured in Egypt. These white peoples, though reckoned in the Bible as Hamites, may have had a mixture of Aryan blood. It is to be noted here that the Amorite chiefs, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, named as confederate with Abraham, have non-Semitic names.

A later inroad was that of the Hittites, evidently a people having affinity with the Philistines and Egyptians, but whose chiefs and nobles seem to have been of Tartar blood, like the modern Turks. The names of their kings seem also to have been non-Semitic. Later, the great westward migration of Semitic peoples, to which that of Abraham himself belongs, not only introduced the Israelites but many nations of Semitic or mixed blood, the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Ishmaelites, etc., whom we find figuring in the Egyptian monuments as yellow or brownish people with a Jewish style of features, and all of whom, as mentioned above, would be known to the Egyptians and Canaanites as "Hebrews." *

Thus the monuments confirm the Jewish record, and the con-

*This is independent of the question whether we regard the name Eber as that of an ancestor, or merely of men from beyond the Euphrates.

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fusion which some ethnologists have introduced into the matter arises from their applying in an arbitrary manner the special tests of physical and philological characteristics, and neglecting to distinguish the primary migrations of men from subsequent intrusions.

Another singular point of agreement is that, just as in Egypt we find men civilized from the first, so we find elsewhere. In Egypt writing and literature date from before the time of Abraham. In like manner we have no monumental evidence of any time when the Accadian people of Babylonia were destitute of writing and science, and we now find that there were learned scribes in all the cities of Canaan, and that the Phœnicians and Southern Arabians knew their alphabet ages before Moses, while even the Greeks seem to have known alphabetic writing long before the Mosaic age.* These men, in short, were descendants of the survivors of the Noachian Deluge, and therefore civilized from the first; and though we have no certain evidence of letters before the flood, except the statement of the author of the Babylonian deluge tablets, that Noah hid written archives at Sippara before going into the ark, yet it is quite certain that men who could build Noah's ship are not unworthy ancestors of the Phœnician seamen, who probably launched their barks on the Mediterranean before the death of Noah himself. Thus whatever value we may attach to the record in Genesis, we cannot refuse to admit that it is thoroughly consistent with itself and with the testimony of the oldest monuments of Asia and Africa, as it is also with the evidence of the geological changes of the Pleistocene and early modern epoch.

In like manner the Egyptian inscriptions of the conquests of Thothmes III. give us a pre-Mosaic record of Palestinian geography corresponding with that of the Hebrew conquest, and the pictures of sieges coincide with the excavations of Petrie at Lachish in restoring those Canaanite towns, "walled up to heaven", which excited the fear of the Israelites. Neither can we scoff at the illiteracy of men who were carrying on diplomatic correspondence in written despatches before Genesis itself was compiled. Nor can we doubt the military prowess of these people, their chariot forces, their sculptured idols and images, their wealth of gold and silver, their agricultural and artistic skill. All these

*Petrie "Illahun, Kahun & Garob," 1891.

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are amply proved by the monuments of the Egyptians and the Hittites.*

Palestine thus presents a pre-historic past parallel with the earlier years of Egypt. It has however a still earlier period, for in Palestine we have evidence of the existence of man long before the dispersion of the sons of Noah. To appreciate this evidence, we must go back, as in the case of Egypt, to the pre-human period. All along the coast of Palestine, from Jaffa to the northern limit of old Phœnicia, the geological traveller sees evidence of a recent submergence, in the occurrence of sandstone, gravel, and limestone with shells and other marine remains of species still living in the Mediterranean. These are the relics of that Pleistocene submergence already referred to, in which the Nile Valley was an arm of the sea and Africa was an island. No evidence has been found of the residence of man in Palestine in this period, when, as the sea washed the very bases of the hills, and the plains were under water, it was certainly not very well suited to his abode. The climate was also probably more severe than at present and the glaciers of Lebanon must have extended nearly to the sea. This was the time of the so-called glacial period in Western Europe.

This, however, was succeeded by that post-glacial period in which, as already explained, the area of the Mediterranean was much smaller than at present and the land encroached far upon the bed of the sea. This, the second continental period, is that in which man makes his first undoubted appearance in Europe, and we have evidence of the same kind in Syria.

One of the most interesting localities proving this is the pass of Nahr el Kelb, north of Beyrout, which I had an opportunity in 1884 of studying.† At this place remains of ancient caverns exist, at present 100 feet above the sea level, but which must have been cut by the waves at the time of the Pleistocene depression, and which in the succeeding elevation were probably raised to several hundred feet higher than their present position. In the

*Bliss, in the quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for April, 1892, figures many interesting objects found in the lower or Amorite stratum of the Mound of Tell el Hesy (Lachisch). We have here a bronze battle axe and heads of javelins that may have been used against the soldiers of Joshua, and axes and pottery of equally early date, along with multitudes of flint flakes, arrow-heads, etc., used at this early time. It is to be hoped that the further exploration of this site may yield yet more interesting results.

†They were previously described in part by Tristram and by Lartet.

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stalagmite deposited by the dripping of water in these caves are imbedded multitudes of broken bones and teeth of large animals, and flint flakes used as knives by the aboriginal people.

That the occupancy of these caves is very ancient is proved by the fact that the old Egyptian conquerors, who cut a road for themselves over these precipices before the Exodus, seem to have found them in the same state as at present, while farther south ancient Syrian tombs are excavated in similar bone breccias. But there is better evidence than this. The bones and teeth in these caves belong not to the animals which have inhabited the Lebanon in historic times, but to creatures like the hairy rhinoceros and the bison, now extinct, which could not have lived in this region since the comparatively modern period in which the Mediterranean resumed its dominion over that great plain between Phœnicia and Cyprus, which we know had been submerged long before the first migrations of the Hamites into Phœnicia, even before the entrance of those comparatively rude tribes which seem to have inhabited the country before the Phœnician colonization.* Unfortunately no burials of these early men have yet been found, and perhaps the Lebanon caves were only their summer sojourns on hunting expeditions. They were, however, probably of the same stock with the races (the Cro-Magnon and Canstadt) of the so-called mammoth age in western Europe, who have left similar remains. Thus we can carry man in the Lebanon back to that absolutely prehistoric age which preceded the Noachian Deluge and the dispersion of the Noachidæ. †

If in imagination we suppose ourselves to visit the caves of the Nahr el Kelb pass, when they were inhabited by these early men, we should find them to be tall muscular people, clothed in skins, armed with flint-tipped javelins and flint hatchets, and cooking the animals caught in the chase in the mouths of their caves. They were probably examples of the ruder and less civilized members of that powerful and energetic antediluvian population which had apparently perfected so many arts, and the remains of whose more advanced communities are now buried in the silt of the sea bottom. If we looked out westward on what is now the Mediterranean, we should see a wide wooded or grassy plain as far as eye

* Some of these tribes also lived in caves, as that of Ant Elias, but the animals they consumed are those now living in the Lebanon.

† Dawson, *Trans. Vict. Institute*, May, 1884, also "Modern Science in Bible Lands."

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could reach, and perhaps might discern vast herds of elephant, rhinoceros and bison wandering over these plains in their annual migrations. Possibly on the far margin of the land we might see the smoke of antediluvian towns long ago deeply submerged in the sea.

The great diluvial catastrophe, which closed this period and finally introduced the present geographical conditions, is that which we know as the historical deluge, and the old peoples of the age of the mammoth and rhinoceros were antediluvians and must have perished from the earth before the earliest migration of the Beni Noah.

Putting together the results referred to in the preceding pages, we may restore the prehistoric ages of the eastern Mediterranean under the following statements:

1. In the period immediately preceding human occupancy, the land of Palestine, Egypt, and Arabia participated in the great pleistocene depression, accompanied by a rigorous climate.

2. The next stage was one of continental elevation, in which the borders of the Mediterranean were dry land, and vast plains in this basin, and even in the western Atlantic, were open to human migration. In this age palæocosmic men took up their abode all over western Asia, Europe, and northern Africa, and probably occupied broad lands since submerged. At this period the region was inhabited by the mammoth, rhinoceros, bison, and other large animals now altogether or locally extinct.

3. This age was terminated by a great submergence, accompanied with vast destruction of animal and human life, and of comparatively short duration, corresponding to the historical deluge.

4. From this depression the more limited continents of the modern period were elevated, and man again overspread them from his primitive seats in the Euphratean region, as recorded in the tenth chapter of Genesis.

5. In this early migration the Biblical Hamites, forming one of the groups of men vaguely known as Turanian, first spread themselves over Palestine and Egypt, and founded the early Phœnician, Canaanite, Mizraimite, and Cushite tribes and nations.

6. In early historic times Semitic peoples, Hebrews and others, from the East, and Mongoloid peoples from the North, migrated into Palestine and dominated and mixed with the primitive tribes, finally penetrating into Egypt and establishing there the dominion

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known as that of the Hyksos. The historical Moabites, Ammonites, Ishmaelites, and Hittites were peoples of this character, having a substratum of Hamite blood with aristocracies of Semitic or Tartar origin.

In looking back over the preceding pages I find that I have dilated at some length on a few points and have merely glanced at others, perhaps equally important, while the space at command has been insufficient to enable me to present much evidence that might have been adduced. I believe, however, that the conclusions advanced are correct up to the present state of knowledge, and that the tendency of discovery is to confirm and extend them.

It will be observed that while archaeological evidence tends to illustrate and corroborate that wonderful collection of early historical documents contained in the Book of Genesis, and to prove their great antiquity, on the other hand these documents prove to be the most precious sources of information as to the antediluvian age, the great flood, the earliest dispersion of men, the old Nimrodic empire, the connections of Asiatic and African civilization, and other matters connected with the origins of the oldest nations, respecting which we have little other written history.

We thus learn that, relatively to Bible history, there is no prehistoric age, since it carries us back beyond the deluge to the origin of man, so that we might properly restrict this term in its narrower signification to those parts of the world not covered by this primitive history. It is true that a tide of criticism hostile to the integrity of Genesis has been rising for some years ; but it seems to beat vainly against a solid rock, and the ebb has now evidently set in. The battle of historical and linguistic criticism may indeed rage for a time over the history and date of the Mosaic law, but in so far as Genesis is concerned it has been practically decided by scientific exploration.

Professor Sayce, one of the best authorities on these subjects, well remarks in a recent paper:* "The time has now come for confronting the conclusions of the 'higher criticism,' so far as it applies to the books of the Old Testament, with the ascertained results of modern oriental research. The amount of certain knowledge now possessed by the Egyptologist and Assyriologist would be surprising to those who are not specialists

* *Expository Times*, October, 1891.



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in these branches, while the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (and we may add the geological and topographical facts daily accumulating) have poured a flood of light upon the ancient world which is at once startling and revolutionary. As in the case of Greek history, so too in the case of Israelitish history, the time of critical demolition is at an end, and it is time for the archæologist to restore the fallen edifice." Or perhaps we should rather say—the edifice has not fallen, but merely requires the removal of the learned rubbish in which it has been buried, in order to restore its pristine utility and beauty.

Since writing the preceding pages I have met with a remarkable paper by Mr. Horatio Hale, in the "*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada.*"* It is one which should commend itself to the study of every Biblical scholar and archæologist; but is contained in a periodical which perhaps meets the eyes of few of them. In this paper he maintains the importance of language as a ground of anthropological classification, and then uses his wide knowledge of the languages of American aborigines, and other rude races, to show that the grammatical complexity and logical perfection of these languages implies a high intellectual capacity in their original framers, and that where such complex and perfect languages are spoken by very rude tribes like the Australian aborigines, they originated with cultivated and intellectual peoples,—in the case of the Australian, with the civilized primitive Dravidians of India. He thus shows that languages, like alphabets, have undergone a process of degradation, so that those of modern times are less perfect exponents of thought than those which preceded them, and that primitive man in his earliest state must have been endowed with as high intellectual powers as any of his descendants.

On similar grounds he shows that it is not in the outlying barbarous races that we are to look for truly primitive man, since here we have merely degraded types, and that the primitive centres of man and language must have been in the old historic lands of Western Asia and Northern Africa. On this view the time necessary for the development of the arts of civilization and of extensive colonization would not be great. "In five centuries a single human pair planted in a fertile oasis might have given origin to a people of five hundred thousand souls, numerous

* Vol. IX., Section II., 1891.

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enough to have sent out emigrations to the nearest inviting lands." The same lapse of time would have sufficed to develop agriculture, to domesticate animals, and to make some progress in architectural and other arts of life. He quotes the remarkable passage of Reclus* as to the agency of woman in the inventions of early art, and shows that this accords with more modern experience among the less civilized nations. It is obvious that all this tends to bring scientific anthropology into the closest relation with the old Biblical history, though Hale, in deference, perhaps, to modern prejudices, does not refer to this.

In the passage quoted by Hale, Reclus says: "It is to woman that mankind owes all that has made us men." Following this hint of the ingenious French writer, we may imagine the first man and woman inhabiting some fertile region, rich in fruits and other natural products, and subsisting at first on the uncultivated bounty of nature. With the birth of their first child, perhaps before, would come the need of shelter either in some dry cavern or booth of poles and leaves or bark, carpeted perhaps with moss or boughs of pine. This would be the first "home," with the woman for its housekeeper. We may imagine the man bringing to it the lamb or kid whose dam he had killed, and the woman, with motherly instinct, pitying the little orphan and training it to be a domestic pet, the first of tamed animals. She, too, would store grain, seeds and berries for domestic use, and some of these germinating would produce patches of grain, or shrubs, or fruit trees around the hut. Noticing these and protecting them, she would be the first gardener and orchardist. The woman and her children might add to the cultivated plants or domesticated quadrupeds and birds; and the man would be induced, in the intervals of hunting and fishing, to guard, protect and fence them.

When the boys grew up, to one of them might be assigned the care of the sheep and goats, to the other the culture of the little farm, while they might aid their father in erecting a better and more artistic habitation, the first attempt at architecture, and in introducing artificial irrigation to render their field more fertile. Is not this little romance of M. Elie Reclus perfectly in harmony with the old familiar story in Genesis, and also with the most recent results of modern science?

J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

*"Primitive Folk" (Contemporary Science Series), p. 58.

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# THE USE OF CATHEDRALS.

BY THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

PEOPLE sometimes ask, Of what use are cathedrals? Why expend a large sum in erecting a magnificent building, and in endowing those who are to minister in it, when the same amount of money might erect a number of churches where they are much wanted, and at the same time make provision for the clergymen who would be placed in charge of them? I wish to answer this question.

In doing so, it is desirable to distinguish between the advantages which the building brings along with it and the benefits to be derived by the clerics who are placed in charge of it from the position secured by the cathedral. The cathedral itself has practically furthered the same great end in every age of the church, only such changes being required as the alterations in the musical and æsthetic taste of the day may suggest, whilst the duties of its guardians demand much more extended and thoughtful adaptation to the wants of the time. In England cathedrals have suffered seriously in the past from its being taken for granted that the requirements for members of the chapters are as completely crystallized as are the demands for the services to be celebrated within the cathedral walls.

It may be well to speak first of the benefits to be derived from the building itself, and the kind of service which the existence of such a building demands. In speaking of a cathedral I wish it to be understood that I am not thinking of makeshift buildings which are sometimes called by that name, and which may have their use for a time of transition and preparation for something better, but of cathedrals such as are found in England and on the continent, which are amongst the most beautiful, if they are not the most beautiful specimens of architecture to be found upon earth.

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It is obvious that the existence of such a building adds dignity and external importance to the religious body to which it belongs. It speaks of artistic skill, devotion, and the interests of religion and self-sacrifice; it seems to recognize the warning contained in the message to God's first people in Haggai (I., 4.): "Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this house lie waste." For when private houses are magnificent and the churches are mean, it seems as though what pertained to this life was everything, and that which was to help and prepare for the next were nothing; and though it is quite true that the Almighty dwelleth not in temples made with hands, and despiseth not the poorest and simplest structure when that is all that the worshippers can offer, it is quite another thing when nothing is too good or costly that is intended for self, nothing too cheap or unbecoming that is designed for the worship of God.

The advantage just named is not the only one derived from a stately building. We are all influenced, often involuntarily, by our surroundings. We learn to be reverent when those around us are reverent. We are assisted in lifting up our hearts to Heaven when we see others showing their sense of the value and importance of what appertains to the preparation for a home there, by making costly sacrifice to help them to realize it; when we are invited to join in services which exceed in beauty and devotional feeling anything that is to be found elsewhere. Moreover, it is no slight advantage for an historic church to show by outward credentials its connection with the past ages in which it has existed. Then a cathedral is diocesan, not parochial; it is the seat of the bishop, and in times of excitement, when party spirit is apt to find a place even in clerical circles, it is a neutral ground where all can meet without feeling compromised, which would not be the case if those called upon to take part in an ecclesiastical gathering were assembled in a church whose members took a prominent part on one side or the other. Moreover, the greater size of a cathedral permits much larger numbers to meet within its walls. In some of our English cathedrals important synods have been held, whilst in St. Paul's, London, the nation by its representatives has seemed to be gathered to return thanks for some memorable triumph over their enemies, as during the Wars of the Roses and the wars on the continent, when in the reigns of Queen Anne and George II. signal victories were won. Besides this there

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have been held within the same solemn walls such solemn thanksgivings as when George III. recovered from the distressing malady with which he was visited, and more recently when the present Prince of Wales was restored to health after his life had been all but despaired of.

This suggests the next great benefit a cathedral ought to confer, to which I would call attention. Its services ought to present a standard of excellence to the diocese. The musical arrangements ought to be superior to what can be found elsewhere, and the best preachers in the diocese should be heard from its pulpit. The teaching of music, and especially of singing, has become much more popular among the English-speaking races than it used to be. Comparatively few children are allowed to grow up without some instruction in singing, and consequently there is a much greater demand for good music than there used to be. It would be a discredit to those responsible for the religious education of the people if all the good music of the country were to be found in secular assemblies, at the opera, or at concerts, and none of it were dedicated to the service of Almighty God. Parish churches, at all events in England, are seldom able to provide the most perfect musical services: these should be looked for in cathedrals, which thus come to be looked upon as centres from which there proceeds a stimulating power to elevate the musical arrangements of churches within their limits. Moreover, if from time to time the choirs of the various churches were gathered within the cathedral walls for choral festivals or other great occasions, they would be encouraged to make greater efforts for improvement and would be assisted in doing so. Then practical improvement will be found to go hand in hand with advance in the theory and science of music. Genius is encouraged to take bolder flights and to make greater efforts when there is a certainty of sympathetic supporters; whilst, in the absence of these, it can scarcely be expected that great musical composers will appear. It is also to be expected that the character of the popular music will be more reverent and restrained when it is nurtured by ecclesiastical assemblies than when it is under the sole control of gatherings of a different kind.

The benefits conferred by cathedrals of which I have hitherto spoken are, or ought to be, common to all ages of the church. Of course the manner in which the services are celebrated will vary

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from time to time in accordance with the prevalent feeling of the age; but there will be much greater and more fundamental differences in the kind of work required from the officers of the cathedral. For some time these glorious buildings in England, and possibly elsewhere, were not valued as they ought to be, because there had been no readjustment of the duties required from those placed in charge of them. The original responsibilities of the prebendaries had been materially altered. Instead of being required to preach the gospel to a still heathen people living upon or near to their prebends, or upon the estates of the dean and chapter, they were comfortably beneficed wherever some good patron had placed them; whilst the residentiary canons had ceased to give exclusive attention to the incessant round of services in the cathedral, which at one time prevailed, and spent the larger portion of each year on some pleasant cure which they held with their canonry. The consequence was that there was a low, crystallized view of the duties of members of cathedral bodies in England, the dignified positions they occupied being regarded by those holding them as little more than sinecures; and those who had the bestowing of such positions not infrequently still further favored them by nominating to them men who were incapable of raising their religious tone or influence. What ought to have been done was to adapt the work of the dean and canons to the requirements of the time, which would have been done if patrons and clergy had seriously considered what was best for the church, and had thought less of their own convenience.

In all projects for reviving cathedral life, or establishing a cathedral system, it is a matter of the utmost importance to determine in what way the deans and canons can be made most useful in elevating the religious standard of the diocese, in furthering the development of its institutions, and in keeping in vigorous life the various organizations which are at work in the different parishes. The weakness of the parochial system is that it has a tendency to foster the feeling in the heart of each incumbent that his parish is the church, that its wants are all-important, those that are outside it are of secondary moment; and whilst his energies are concentrated with self-denying force upon ministering to whatever may tend to its spiritual or temporal improvement, there is less care and interest than there ought to be for the other parts of the same spiritual body. No doubt this is

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partly a natural feeling arising from the interest which every learned man takes in his own work, but it is fostered to a great degree by the isolation in which the clergy often find themselves. The cathedral is to the diocese what the heart is to the body, and as the stream of life wells forth from the heart to the extremities, so from the cathedral a stream of living influence and power should flow to every parish in the diocese. The bishop, from his seat of authority, has to order and govern the diocese; the dean and the canons from their position should be his fellow helpers by being channels of influence and friendly advisers of the parochial clergy and coöperators with them.

It may be well to mention some of the methods in which they can carry out this object. They can make the cathedral the seat of a school for educating young men for holy orders. At Wells, at Ely, and at Salisbury this good work is being carried on in England, and the future candidates for ordination are being trained under the elevating influence of the cathedral services, and under the very eye of the bishop, thus giving him the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with them and directing their studies before they assume the responsible duties of the clerical life. Another work which the cathedral staff can perform is that of preaching in the various churches of the diocese. It is no small help to the clergyman who has to preach to the same congregation Sunday after Sunday, and to the people who listen to him, to have now and then a dignitary from the cathedral take his place; it is a new stream of life coming amongst them. The cathedral dignitary may not be a more eloquent preacher than their own clergyman, but it seems to add strength to his teaching when some one holding an important position in the diocese preaches to them the same great truths from a somewhat different point of view, as always must be the case when different men seek to inculcate the same doctrines. Then, at the present day, missions to promote advance in the spiritual life on the part of the religious, and to arouse the careless and indifferent to serious thought, are happily becoming frequent. The difficulty not infrequently is to find the man capable of undertaking such work with effect. One canon of the cathedral might be selected for this special duty. Moreover, such help would bring the clergy more closely into connection with other parts of the diocese and tend to diminish that isolated feeling of which I

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have spoken. Besides this, the visitor from the cathedral might be able to suggest plans for parochial improvement, or to further those suggested by the bishop, giving those plans more weight with the laity than they would have if the people worked upon the unsupported voice of the clergyman of the parish. Besides this, there are times when the local incumbent is sick or apathetic, or when there is a change of ministers, when it is most desirable that the charge of the parish should be placed in responsible hands, so that the various kinds of parochial organization may not slide into a lower condition of efficiency, as too often happens during a vacancy.

There is another and most important duty that members of the cathedral staff may be expected to discharge. Amongst them there should be some who can dedicate their whole time to study and theological learning. In an age like the present when there are so many distractions, so many crude attempts to weaken articles of faith, so many theories started to lead men astray, so many doubts raised as to the authorities on which received doctrines rest, it is most desirable that there should be some able men with sufficient leisure to examine the speculations set forth, and to controvert that which needs opposing. And it is well to bear in mind that with the ill-instructed or the half-instructed the words of men sitting in seats of authority have a weight not accorded to those devoid of such a position.

There is yet another class of duties which I have left to the last. The bishop needs some men upon whom he can rely to carry out the works of organization which he seeks to maintain or to establish. Too often this work has to be performed by earnest men who are compelled to neglect some of their own special duties in order to accomplish what has to be done. If there were members of the cathedral staff on whom the bishop could rely this would not be. He would be able to accomplish much that is now left undone, to perfect much that is now unsatisfactorily done, and to further plans for the spiritual improvement of his diocese which he is now obliged to leave unattempted for want of suitable instruments wherewith to attempt it.

To make the improvement suggested two things are essential. The first is to choose the right men for cathedral offices. In England it has too often happened that the cathedrals have failed to do any good work they might otherwise accomplish, because un-

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suitable men have been promoted to their chief seats. There needs to be a power to decide what the work shall be that each officer shall be expected to discharge, and to see that the person selected shall possess the necessary aptitude to perform such work ably and efficiently. It might be well if cathedral appointments were sometimes treated as staff appointments in other services are, *i.e.*, that their occupants should be nominated for a term of years, and at the expiration of that term the nominators should be free to appoint some one else, or to extend the tenure of the existing occupant; whilst for the dispossessed dean or canon some parochial charge for which he is more suited might be found.

A second requirement is that the cathedral shall be sufficiently endowed. Popular favor is apt to be capricious. And if the musical services are to be raised to a high state of efficiency, they must be costly; it would be impossible to depend upon volunteers, whilst the independence of the chief officers and much of the good work that should be performed by them would be seriously hindered, if not marred, if one of their duties were to raise the necessary funds for their own maintenance. In saying this I seek to point out what should be the aim and intention of those who aim to extend cathedral institutions. Such great works cannot be accomplished in one generation. Most of our English cathedrals took centuries to complete; and even in the present day, when there is so much more rapidity in men's movements, it cannot be expected, nor is it desirable, that there should be suddenly a complete revolution. It is therefore given to us to rejoice over what is being done to found cathedrals, whilst at the same time we refuse to regard the work as complete until endowments are provided as well as buildings,—until there is a perfect arrangement of the duties and work of those who are to bear office in them, as well as an arrangement as to the appointment of men to fill such offices, and at the same time a power provided somewhere for adapting their work to the special and changing wants of the time.

ROBERT GREGORY.

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# ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE CAMPAIGN.

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

IT IS with some trepidation that I begin writing this article, for while it may be true that I have as good opportunities as any other man in the country of conjecturing the probable action of the workingmen of America, and particularly those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the coming Presidential campaign, I am certain that my article will please but very few. I have had to say and write some things in my more than twenty-five years' connection with the labor movement for which I have incurred the displeasure of some very earnest, though, in my opinion, mistaken men who differ with our movement and myself, as one of its representatives, as to methods, but not as to the ultimate end and aim of the social, economic and political struggle of the toiling masses.

I feel sure that this production will in nowise tend to lessen this difference of opinion, but if it will tend to give a clearer understanding to a number of friends and foes as to what the trade unions really are; that their methods are within the range of reason; that their work is being crowned with success as far as conditions will permit; that they are the natural organization of the wage-earning masses; and that it is their mission to secure the amelioration as well as the emancipation of labor—then I shall feel my conscience eased, and be amply rewarded, in venturing to write an article upon the probable action of the American Federation of Labor in the coming Presidential campaign.

Why should its attitude be different in the coming Presidential campaign from what it has been in the past? In what way does the coming campaign differ from those of 1876, 1880, 1884 or 1888? Is there any particular principle involved in the

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party issues in which the wage-workers have a deep or keen interest? There is indeed none.

Was there any real improvement or deterioration in the condition of the working people, as a result of the changes, when Mr. Cleveland succeeded the late Mr. Arthur, or when Mr. Harrison succeeded Mr. Cleveland? I think not, and I feel satisfied that I will not lose my reputation as a "prophet" if I venture to predict that, so far as the wage-workers are concerned, it will matter little if President Harrison or some other Republican on the one side, or any member of the Democratic party on the other, should be elected to succeed the present incumbent, or even should the People's Party succeed (though I doubt that they even entertain the belief that they will succeed) in electing their candidate to the Presidency.

The members of the organizations affiliated with the Federation will no doubt, in a large measure, as citizens, vote for the candidate of the party of their own political predilections. But the number is ever on the increase who disenthral themselves from partisan voting and exercise their franchise to reward or chastise those parties and candidates, that deserve either their friendship or resentment. With us it is not a question of parties or men; it is a question of measures.

That there exists a feeling of dissatisfaction with, and bitter antagonism to, both the Republican and Democratic parties is not to be gainsaid. Broken promises to labor, insincere, half-hearted support and even antagonism of legislation in the interest of the toilers on the one hand, and the alacrity and devotion with which the interests of the corporations and the wealth-possessing class are nurtured, protected and advanced on the other, have had their effect, and the result is that many toilers have forever severed their connection with the old parties. That the number will continue to grow larger year by year I have not the slightest doubt. To me this party defection of the wage-workers is one of the signs of the dawn of a healthier public opinion, a sturdier manhood and independence, and a promise to maintain the liberties that the people now enjoy, as well as to ever struggle on to attain that happy goal towards which, throughout its entire history, the human family have been perpetually pushing forward.

But in leaving the old parties, to whom, to what shall former

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Democratic or Republican workmen turn? To the People's Party? Are such changes and improvements promised there that the workers can with any degree of assurance throw in their political fortunes with that party? Of course, acting upon the principle "of all evils choose the least," they will more generally coöperate with the People's Party than with any similar party heretofore gracing the Presidential political arena.

As a matter of fact, however, to support the People's Party under the belief that it is a *labor* party is to act under misapprehension. It is not and cannot, in the nature of its make-up, be a labor party, or even one in which the wage-workers will find their haven. Composed, as the People's Party is, mainly of *employing* farmers without any regard to the interests of the *employed* farmers of the country districts or the mechanics and laborers of the industrial centres, there must of necessity be a divergence of purposes, methods, and interests.

In speaking thus frankly of the composition of the People's Party there is no desire to belittle the efforts of its members, or even to withhold the sympathy due them in their agitation to remedy the wrongs which they suffer from corporate power and avarice; on the contrary, the fullest measure of sympathy and all possible encouragement should and will be given them; for they are doing excellent work in directing public attention to the dangers which threaten the body politic of the republic. But, returning to the consideration of the entire coöperation or amalgamation of the wage-workers' organizations with the People's Party, I am persuaded that all who are more than superficial observers, or who are keen students of the past struggles of the proletariat of all countries, will with one accord unite in declaring the union impossible, because it is unnatural. Let me add that, before there can be any hope of the unification of labor's forces of the field, farm, factory, and workshop, the people who work on and in them for wages must be organized to protect *their* interests against those who pay them wages for that work.

Then, if as an organization, the American Federation of Labor will take no official part in the coming Presidential campaign of a partizan character, it may, with a fair degree of reason, be asked what we will do? Some have asked whether we will have a candidate of our own in the field. I can answer both by saying that, apart from the acts already referred to above, we shall maintain as

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a body a masterly inactivity. As organized trade-unionists, we have had some experience with a Presidential candidate, and in campaigns of our own, the lessons of which have not been forgotten by us.

It may not be generally known that in 1872 the organized workingmen of the country placed a candidate in nomination for the Presidency of the United States. The National Labor Union, the immediate predecessor and parent of the Federation, at its convention of that year, held in Columbus, O., selected the late David Davis, of Illinois, as its standard bearer. So far as the nomination was concerned, quite a degree of success was attained. A candidate was placed in the field, but it was at the cost of the life of the organization. Another convention of the National Labor Union was never held after that. Indeed, so great was the reaction among the organized workingmen against this departure, and so thoroughly had they lost confidence in a general organization of a national character, that, despite all efforts to induce them to be represented in a national convention, defeat and disappointment were the result until 1881, when the Federation was called into existence.

Since its organization the American Federation of Labor has kept in mind two facts: first, the lamentable experience of its predecessor; and second, that, in the struggle for improved conditions and emancipation for the toilers, what is wanted is the organization of the wage-workers, not on "party" lines, but on the lines of their class interests.

As an organization, the American Federation of Labor is not in harmony either with the existing or projected political parties. So deep-seated is the conviction in this matter that, long ago, it was decided to hold the conventions of the Federation *after* the elections. Thus freed from party bias and campaign crimination, these gatherings have been in a position to declare for general principles, and to judge impartially upon the merits or demerits of each party, holding each to an accountability for its perfidy to the promises made to the working people, and at the same time keeping clear and distinct the economic character of the organization. By our non-political partisan character as an organization, we tacitly declare that political liberty with economic independence is illusory and deceptive, and that only in so far as we gain economic independence can our political liberty become tangible and

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important. This may sound like political heresy, but it is economic truth.

As time goes on we discern that the organized workingmen place less reliance upon the help offered by others, and it is a spark upon the altar of progress that they have learned to more firmly depend upon their own efforts to secure those changes and improvements which are theirs by right.

Of course it must not be imagined that we have no interest in the political affairs of our country; on the contrary, we believe that it is our mission to gather the vast numbers of the wealth-producers, agricultural, industrial, and commercial, into a grand army of organized labor, and, by our struggles for improved conditions and emancipation, instil into the minds of the workers a keener appreciation of their true position in society and of their economic, political and social duties and rights as citizens and workers. Every advantage gained in the economic condition of the wage-workers must necessarily have its political and social effect, not only upon themselves but upon the whole people. Hence for the present, at least, nearly all our efforts are concentrated upon the field as indicated above.

Many may find fault in our refraining from directly entering the political arena by the nomination of candidates for national and State offices and will point to results in England and other countries for our emulation. In considering this question it must be borne in mind that the *bona-fide* labor movement, as expressed in the trades-unions of America, is much younger, both in years and experience, than it is abroad, and that the element of time is an important factor for the rank and file to mature that confidence in the wisdom and honesty of their leaders, which is as necessary a pre-requisite to the party entering the field of politics, as it has been in that of economics.

Whatever has been gained for the toilers in our country has been the achievement of the trades-unions, and it would be most unwise, not to say anything harsher, to abandon the organization, position and methods of past success to fly "to others we know not of." More than half of the battle of labor has already been won. No really intelligent man to-day disputes the claims of labor. The stage of ridicule is happily past; the era of reason has taken its place; and what is now needed is the means and the power to enforce our claim. To that end we are marshalling

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our forces, and we will demonstrate to the world that the demands and struggles of the toiling masses, while ostensibly and immediately concerned with their own improvement and emancipation, will develop the possibilities, grandeur and true nobility of the human family.

Having mapped out our course, the members of the American Federation of Labor can look on the coming Presidential campaign with a degree of equanimity not often attained by the average citizen. The excitement and turmoil, criminations and recriminations will not rend our organization asunder, as it has done so many others; and during it all, and when the blare of trumpets has died away, and the "spell-binders" have received their rewards, the American Federation of Labor will still be found plodding along, doing noble battle in the struggle for the uplifting of the toiling masses.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

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# GAMBLING AND CHEATING IN ANCIENT ROME.

BY RODOLFO LANCIANI, PROFESSOR OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ROME.

IN THE spring of 1876, during the construction of the Via Volturno, near the Prætorian camp, a Roman tavern was discovered, containing, besides many hundred *amphoræ*, the "sign" of the establishment, engraved on a marble slab. Here it is :

ABEMVS INCENA
PVLLVM PISCEM
PERNAM PAONEM
BENA. TORES

The meaning of the sign is double ; it tells the customers that a good supper was always ready within, and that the gaming tables were always open to gamblers. The sign, in fact, is a *tabula lusoria* in itself, as shown by the characteristic arrangement of the thirty-six letters, in three lines and six groups of six letters each. Orthography has been freely sacrificed to this arrangement (*abemus* standing for *habemus*, *cena* for *cenam*). The last word of the fourth line shows that the men who patronized the establishment were the *Venatores immunes*, a special troop of Prætorians, into whose custody the *vivarium* of wild beasts, and the *amphitheatrum castrense* were given.

So intense was the love of the Roman for games of hazard, that wherever I have excavated the pavement of a portico, of a basilica, of a bath, or any flat surface accessible to the public, I have always found gaming tables engraved or scratched on the marble or stone slabs, for the amusement of idle men, always ready to cheat each other out of their money.



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The evidence of this fact is to be found in the Forum, in the Basilica Julia, in the corridors of the Coliseum, on the steps of the temple of Venus and Rome, in the square in front of the Portico of the Twelve Gods, and even in the House of the Vestals after its secularization in 393. Gaming tables are especially abundant in barracks, such as those of the seventh battalion of *vigiles* near by S. Critogono, and of the police at Ostia and Porto, and of the Roman encampment near Guise in the Department of the Aisne. Sometimes when the camp was moved from place to place, or else from Italy to the frontiers of the empire, the men would not hesitate to carry the heavy tables with their luggage. Two, of pure Roman make, have been discovered at Rusicade in Numidia and at Aïn-Kebira in Mauretania. Naturally enough they could not be wanting in the Prætorian camp, and in the taverns patronized by its turbulent garrison, where the time was spent in revelling and gambling and in riots ending in fights and bloodshed. To these scenes of violence often refer the wording of the tables: such as

| | |
|---|---|
| LEVATE | LVDERE |
| NESCIS | DALVSO |
| RILOCV | RECEDE |

"Get up! You know nothing about the game; make room for better players!" Two paintings were discovered in November, 1876, in a tavern at Pompeii, in one of which are seen two players seated on stools opposite each other, and holding on their knees the gaming-table, upon which are arranged in various lines several *latrunculi* of various colors, yellow, black, and white. The man on the left shakes a yellow dice box, and exclaims "EXSI" ("I am out!"). The other one points to the dice, and answers "NON TRIA, DVAS EST" ("Not three points, but two!"). In the next picture the same individuals have sprung to their feet and show fight. The younger says "Not two, but three: I have the game!" whereupon the other man, after flinging at him the grossest insult, repeats his assertion "EGO FVI." The altercation ends with the appearance of the tavern-keeper, who pushes both men into the street and exclaims "ITIS FORIS RIXSATIS" ("Go out of my shop if you want to fight!"). We may assume as a fact that taverns were frequented more for the facility they offered for heavy gambling, in spite of official prohibition,

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than for their specialties in wine and food. Mercury was worshipped in those dens more than Bacchus. Here is a sign of another "osteria" discovered at Lyons by Spon:

"Here Mercury promises you gain, Apollo health, and Septumanus [a local god] good fare and a good bed."

The one hundred and more tables already found in Rome, mostly in my life time, belong to six different games of hazard; in some of them, however, the mere chance of dice-throwing was coupled with a certain amount of skill in moving the "men" or *tesseræ*. Their outline is always the same. There are three horizontal lines at an equal distance, each line containing twelve signs, thirty-six in all. The signs vary in almost every table; there are circles, squares, vertical bars, leaves, letters, monograms, crosses, crescents, and immodest symbols; the majority of these tables (sixty-five) contain words arranged so as to make a full sentence with the thirty-six letters. These sentences speak of the fortune, and good or bad luck of the game, of the skill and pluck of the players, of the favor or hostility of bystanders and betting men. Sometimes they invite you to try the seduction of gambling, sometimes they warn you of the risks you incur.

Here are a few examples: On a table found in the catacombs of Callixtus: "If you have a chance in your favor, I shall win by skill." On a table found in the catacombs of Cyriaca: "The circus is full: the clamor is great: Eugene, do win." In the pavement of the Basilica Julia: "If you lose, you cry; if you gain, you exult."

The table is divided into two sides by a middle line, each half being allotted to one of the partners, and the points of each being marked on the section on the right.

The number of dice used was three, being marked with a minimum of one and a maximum of six spots. The most fortunate throw, called *Venereus* by Cicero (de Divin., I., 13) and *basilicus* by Plautus (Curculio II., 3,79) was when the dice showed three *seniones* or 18 spots. The progress of the game was marked on the board by the movement of the men (*latrunculi*) backwards and forwards. The gravity of the losses depended naturally upon the amount of money at stake and the fines that were paid when the dice showed one or more aces. It is difficult to explain what skill had to do with such a game, still Isidorus describes how inveterate gamblers could succeed in

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throwing the six and in avoiding the unit. I suspect that this skill was not always innocent, and that a heavy particle of lead was, perhaps, concealed on the side of the unit. In a *graffito* at Pompeii, an honest player congratulates himself for having gained a good sum of money without fraud. Plautus dwells sometimes on these dishonest practices, to avoid which several instruments were invented from time to time, such as the horn (*pyxis cornea*) and the *fritillus*. It seems, however, that these instruments did not always fulfil their purpose. A third one was consequently invented, in the shape of a tower, with a spiral staircase inside and a funnel on the top. The dice shaken first in the horn, or in the *fritillus*, were thrown into the funnel and rolled down the spiral staircase until they landed on the table. Such precautions rendered cheating almost impossible.

Children were initiated into the seductions of gambling (*alea*), by playing "nuts," a pastime cherished also by elder people. So strong, in fact, was the passion for nut gambling, and so heavy were the losses of many gamblers, that special laws were passed from time to time, by which the popular sport was declared a punishable offence, except in the days of the *Saturnalia*. Hence the name of *saturnaliciæ* given to the nuts used in these exceptional days. It was customary to send them as a present, to exchange them among friends, or to carry them about when visiting in suburban villas and country houses. Thus Martial writes to Juvenal (Epigr. VII., 91):

*De nostro, facunde, tibi, Juvenalis agello*
*Saturnalitias mittimus, ecce, nuces.*

In the spring of 1878, a life-size statuette of a boy playing at nuts, was discovered in the cemetery of the Agro Verano, near S. Lorenzo *fuori le mura*. The statuette, cut in Pentelic marble, represents the young gambler, leaning forward, as if he had thrown or was about to throw the nut; and his countenance shows anxiety and uncertainty as to the success of his trial. This rare work of art has been illustrated by Countess Ersilia Lovatelli-Caetani in an admirable paper, published in 1882 in the *Bullettino Archeologico Comunale*. Another classical recollection of the popular pastime was discovered seven years ago in the garden of Cavaliere Bertone, near the mausoleum of Lucilia Polla on the Via Salaria. It consists of an epitaph engraved on marble, describing how a certain freedman had been buried, "AD NVCEM,"

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that is to say, in the vicinity of an *osteria* called *ad nucem*, from the heavy nut gambling in which its customers were allowed to indulge.

Nuts appear also in wedding ceremonies. The groom used to throw a handful of them among the young men assembled outside the door of the nuptial room to sing the joyous epithalamium; as if wishing to declare that he was leaving forever the follies and thoughtless pleasures of youth. They were also thought to possess virtue in repelling the evil eye, both from the living and the dead. In the farms of *La Marranella*, on the right of the Via Prænestina, Prince del Drago discovered ten years ago a coffin with three nuts placed by the side of the corpse, as a safeguard against an evil influence, just as a Neapolitan of our days would use a horn of red coral. In another tomb discovered at Sienna the deceased had been laid to rest with a string of nuts around her neck.

The game could be played in many ways. One way, still popular among Italian boys, was to make a pyramidal "castle" with four nuts, three at the base and one at the top, and then to try and knock it down with the fifth nut thrown from a certain distance. The game is represented in two ancient bas-reliefs, one discovered at Ostia and illustrated by Gerhard, the second discovered in Rome and illustrated by Melchiorri. The second way of playing was to design a triangle on the floor with chalk, subdividing it into several compartments by means of lines parallel with the base; the winnings were regulated according to the compartment in which the nut fell and remained. Italian boys are still very fond of this game, which they call *campana*, because the figure designed on the floor has the shape of a bell: it is played with coppers.

There was a third system, in which the players placed their stakes (nuts, which had a value like counters of the present day) in a vase with a large opening. The one who succeeded first in throwing his missile inside the jar would gain its contents. To Lucius Verus, one of the heaviest gamblers of old times, is attributed a new variety, which consisted in breaking the vase with a copper coin thrown from a considerable distance. The Emperor Gallienus substituted apples for nuts; *de pomis castella composuit*, as his biographer says.

Not very different from the chance of *pair* and *impair* was the

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one of betting on which side a piece of money, thrown up in the air, would come down. The Greeks used for this game a shell, black on one side, white on the other, and called it *νὺξ ἢ ἡμέρα*. The Latins used a copper (*as*), with the head of Janus on one face and the prow of a galley on the other, calling it *capita aut navim*. Our Italian boys call it *arma e santo, testa e croce, Marco e Madonna*, according to the emblems of coinage peculiar to the old states of the peninsula. Cheating was possible also in this game of heads and tails. I have had in my hands a coin of Nero, which had been saw n in two, an uneven piece of iron placed between, and the two halves readjusted so that the coin was sure of falling on the same side on each throw.

These social games, and others, the description of which will be easily found in the works of Becker, Marquardt, Hermann, Becq de Fouquières, Ficoroni, etc., first contrived as a simple pastime, became in progress of time a most pernicious mania. Magistrates tried to interfere, with little or no success. Games in which room was left for a display of skill were put aside and forgotten in fashionable circles, and *alea* reigned alone.

It is refreshing to read of the pleasant way in which Augustus used to play. He was not afraid to be called a gambler, and played simply, honestly, openly, for the real pleasure of it, even in his old age, not only in the month of December, in which it was lawful to do it, during the week of the Saturnalia, but also on other feast-days all through the year. We have the account of one of these festive sittings, given by Augustus himself, which I quote: "We have passed, my dear Tiberius, the *quinquatrus*, [the anniversary feast of Minerva, beginning on the nineteenth of March and lasting five days] in great merriment, gambling every day and warming up to the occasion. Your brother distinguished himself by the great noise he made, and, after all, he did not lose very much, for fortune turned in his favor just when he was approaching ruination. I have lost thirty thousand sesterces, because, as usual, I was very liberal towards my guests and partners. Had I taken from them all that was due to me, and had I been more careful in offering money right and left, I would have cleared at least fifty thousand."

The hospitality of Augustus was so considerate in every way that a sum of money was distributed daily among his guests to help them put up their stakes. So he writes to Julia: "I have

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sent you two hundred and fifty sesterces, which represent the amount offered to my guests in case they wished to try their chance at pair and impair."

There were, however, very few gentlemen in Rome ready to imitate the disinterestedness and moderation of their sovereign. The establishment of an imperial court hastened the decadence of social morality. Contemporary authors complain very often of this state of things. There is a deep feeling of regret and sadness in Horace when he says in Ode III., 24: "The young Roman is no longer devoted to the manly habits of riding and hunting; his skill seems to develop more in the games of chance forbidden by law." But the laws, especially the *lex talaria* prohibiting dice-gambling at meal-times, were powerless against the evil. Cicero mentions the name of a Licinius Lenticula who, after having undergone his penalty for gambling, did not hesitate to repeat the offence in the forum. "Never has the torrent of vice been so irresistible," says Juvenal in Satire I., 87, "or the depths of avarice more absorbing, or the passion for gambling more intense. None approach nowadays the gambling table with the purse; they must carry with them their strong box. What can we think of these profligates more ready to lose one hundred thousand than to give a tunic to a slave dying with cold?"

"What is the advantage," he says in another passage (VIII., 9) "of displaying in your mansion an array of family portraits, when you, unworthy descendants of heroes, pass your nights in gambling?" The contagion of example was felt by the younger generations, and it became customary to see boys assembled round the table, shaking the dice in the box. No wonder that the severity of the republican laws should have been mitigated under this state of things, and perhaps it was a wise thought to open, as it were, a valve of security against this outbreak of human passion. The application of penalties and fines was suspended during the week of the Saturnalia, and the magistrate to whom the surveillance of gambling houses was intrusted was allowed to be lenient and shut his eyes for the time being. But this time was never long enough for gamblers. "Betrayed by the noise of the dice-box which he shakes with trembling hand, he begs the Ædilis to let him try the chance once more" (Martial, V., 85).

So far the poets. If we consult the evidence of historians the colors are still darker. They speak sometimes of the palace

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of the Cæsars having been transformed into a gambling den. According to Suetonius, Caligula not only accepted the profits from games of chance, but drew much more from fraud and perjury, cheating freely his guests and friends, *plus mendacio, atque etiam periurio lucrabatur* (c. 41.). Once having asked his neighbor to hold the dice for him, he spied two wealthy Roman knights promenading in the vestibule of the palace. He caused them to be immediately put in irons, confiscated their property, and rushed back to his seat at the dice table, boasting that he had never done a better stroke in his life. Claudius was blindly devoted to the *alea*, having written a treatise on the subject. He even had a carriage built in such a way as to allow him and his party to gamble while travelling. Whoever wanted to make a rapid and brilliant career at court had only to flatter his passion for the dice. Seneca inflicts on him an imaginary, but telling, punishment. He represents the Emperor in hell playing with the dice-box, with a hole at the bottom, so that when he shakes the instrument both dice—*utraque tessera*—slip through the hole : a passage which proves that the Romans played sometimes with two, instead of three dice. Nero, whom naturally one expects to find in such company, was fond of a desperate game, and, according to his biographer (c. 30.), usually put up the stake at four hundred thousand sesterces for each point, a sum corresponding to thirteen thousand four hundred dollars, or thereabouts. Of Domitian we are told that he was always ready to resort to the dice, *quoties otium esset*, even in the morning hours. As regards Commodus, we know from Lampridius that he turned the imperial palace into a regular Monte Carlo, devoted to every excess of refined or brutal profligacy. Being once pressed for money, and unwilling perhaps to borrow from his subjects, he simulated the intention of visiting the African provinces of the empire ; and having thus obtained a grant from the treasury under false pretences, he spent it all in gambling and rioting.

Lucius Verus ranks foremost in the list of Roman imperial gamblers. "Such was his passion for debauchery" [I quote a well known passage of Capitolinus, c. 4] "that on his return from Syria he established a tavern in his own palace, to which he repaired after leaving the table of Marcus Aurelius, and there he partook of the lowest kind of food and drink, and passed the

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night in playing games of chance, a passion which he had contracted in Syria."

The contagion of imperial example led to the practical abolition of prohibitory laws. It was only towards the end of the empire that a new attempt was made to check the evil. It was made by Justinian, through a law absolutely forbidding games of chance, and tolerating those of skill, provided the stakes should exceed a fixed maximum. We are ignorant of what results were accomplished by force of law; we believe, however, that the subsiding of the passion for gambling, after Justinian's age, must be attributed less to his code of government than to the spreading of Christian principles.

RODOLFO LANCIANI.

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# THE SITUATION IN ITALY.

BY EX-PRIME MINISTER CRISPI.

You have requested me to give to The North American Review an article on the financial condition of Italy, saying that in America the understanding is that the excessive increase in taxation is caused by the adherence of Italy to the Triple Alliance, and that the nation requires relief, particularly by way of reducing the armament. The subject is one of importance, and yet I might dispose of its main features in a few words. The unfavorable state of affairs in Italy is more a matter of right and wrong handling than it is of economic weakness. The financial disorder is temporary and is due rather to the methods hitherto used in the management of taxation than to the exigencies of the State. The Triple Alliance is not the cause of our armament, which, indeed, hardly suffices for the defence of the nation.

The establishment of the unity of Italy was greeted in the new world with sympathy. That unity was effected at the very time when the great American Union was aflame with the War of the Rebellion, which it terminated so triumphantly and from which the United States came forth stronger than ever. The reappearance in the old world of a nation that had been disunited for fourteen centuries was naturally an object of sentimental regard and not of jealousy, especially for America, which owed its discovery to two Italians. These ties that unite us will be strengthened by the erection of the monument to Christopher Columbus in New York.

When Italy had at last been freed from its despots, it lacked many of the absolute requirements of our modern civilization: ports, roads, railways, telegraphs, army, and navy—all were lacking in the new kingdom, and Parliament had to provide for everything. Is it, then, to be wondered at that Italy's financial con-

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dition was greatly affected by this state of things, and that both the expenses and the income of the State should have been in process of increase ever since 1861 until the present time?

Surely, when we compare the Italy of to-day with the Italy of 1860, the year in which its unification began, we shall plainly perceive that the two periods radically differ from each other. The taxpaying Italian pays more than he did, but he produces more, and he partakes of all those advantages that were previously lacking.

Ferdinand the Bourbon used to say that there was not in the whole world a more economical government than his; but the reply could have been made that the taxes which his subjects had to pay exceeded the expenses of the public service, and that during his reign not only was liberty hardly known, but works of public utility were absolutely neglected. There were no schools in Naples and Sicily, either elementary or academic, except those of the priests, and the great universities were nearly abandoned. There were only a few railroads, and they served only for strategic purposes. Telegraphs were confined to the large cities; the common roads were incomplete, and the ports inadequate to the interests of commerce.

All this was logical for a king who feared science as he feared the development of human intellect, and who distrusted such means of communication as would imperil the dynasty by bringing the people into closer connection and friendship.

The Kingdom of Italy having been proclaimed, the government went to work with fresh activity to set the State in order in all the branches of public administration. It can certainly not be said that it was always fortunate in the choice of its means, or that it met with no obstacles in its way. Various laws and local prejudices and customs made difficult any unity of plan for the political readjustment of the various provinces of the Peninsula. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that, in the beginning, even men of learning and tried patriotism—among whom we may mention Carlo Cattaneo—preferred the federal form in the organization of the public service. Mazzini's plan of unity prevailed, and Marco Minghetti—who favored a consideration of local claims in the constitution of the government—found no support in the parliament. The Unionists apprehended the resurrection of the old States, and were opposed to all laws tending to maintain even the

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memory of them. Fusion was complete, except in the Department of Justice, a chief magistrate having been retained for five cities, the former capitals of the abolished monarchies. The system of government by communes and provinces, public instruction, the tax system, public works, and the civil and penal codes were applied to Italy with bold uniformity.

The nation did not resist; it obeyed. The national sentiment had pervaded the masses. In the Southern provinces of the Peninsula—where, in the first years, the government was severe, where the brigandage, nurtured by Ferdinand, carried havoc and fire into the country and communes—the citizens submitted patiently to great sacrifices for the regained fatherland, and thus expiated the past.

Italy has, on her boundaries, two military powers of first rank, Austria and France, which more than once have sought to dominate her. The Alps, our natural boundary, are, both in the east and west, open to an easy foreign invasion. We have to watch 2,424 kilometres of sea-coast, and protect two islands, the largest in the Mediterranean; while we must defend our seas against insidious designs of all possible enemies.

France, one of our neighbors, maintains, in time of peace, 510,000 soldiers, and can, in case of war, mobilize 3,060,000. She has a fleet of 587 ships to put in line of battle, and 70 other vessels under construction.

Austria, too, is powerful. She has an army of 318,000 men on a peace footing, and can increase it to 1,900,000 men in case of war. She can send to sea 91 ships, although she should not require them, the Adriatic being narrow and not altogether her own.

Fortunate is the American Union that has nothing to fear from European nations, and nothing from its neighbors. Your people can, therefore, scarcely appreciate the dangers threatening us, but may calmly discuss the question that sooner or later we will have to solve.

No one can determine the day when war will break out. There is, however, every indication that it is inevitable; and I do not, in looking around, see a single government in Europe strong enough to prevent it. The defeats of 1870, causing a hatred unforgotten in the course of years, are preparing the hour of revenge. And this feeling of revenge is not only directed

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against Germany, but also against those nations that did not then hasten to the aid of France. The fact that Garibaldi and his valiant soldiers marched, after Sedan, to the defence of the new Republic, did not reconcile the neighboring nation with Italy.

The Franco-Russian alliance is a danger to the liberty of Europe. France sought and obtained this alliance not for the benefit of other nationalities, but for their detriment.

If these two allies should be victorious the equilibrium of the old world would be destroyed, and the nations would feel the consequences. I do not know the conditions of accord between St. Petersburg and Paris, nor whether or not the stipulations between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, and afterwards at Erfurt, were renewed, or even made worse. But I am convinced that France will rue a victory of the Russian armies in the East, and that, sooner or later she will be obliged, in the interests of civilization, to take up arms and fight her ally of to-day.

The results would be equally grave in case France should be defeated. Having lost Alsace and Lorraine in 1870, she would, after a disastrous war, be so broken as to be unable to rise again.

Garibaldi asked, previous to 1860, for a million guns. In 1861, in the Chamber of Deputies, he introduced a bill for the arming of the nation. Various speakers, following his example, maintained in Parliament that it was necessary to reorganize the army and to provide for the fortifications of the frontier and the defences on the seacoast. Liberty is not secure and the independence of the country is always in danger unless its citizens be armed. The methods of organizing the army and the question as to the best military measures for the protection of the State are open to discussion ; but it occurs to no one in old and turbulent Europe that the nation should disarm.

In 1862 a permanent commission was appointed with the function of studying and proposing what is necessary for the defense of the State. This commission, after considering the subject in hand for nine years, reported in 1871 its propositions, which were afterwards modified and are, even to this day, not yet fully put into effect.

The wars of 1866 and 1870 took place while the commission was still at work. Everybody in Europe knows that the war of 1870 excited distrust and fear, and led to extraordinary arma-

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ments even in neutral States. Italy did not, however, unduly hasten its work, and only in 1882—before King Humbert had allied himself with the two central empires—was the army definitely organized, and the regulations of national defence were decreed even as late as July, 1884. The Ministry of War was authorized, a year later, to expend the extraordinary sum of two hundred and twelve millions. Part of this sum remained over as a balance, as is seen by the law of December, 1888.

The navy did not fare differently. It became necessary for Italy to repair its fleet after Lissa. In 1873 it was authoritatively declared in Parliament that all the expenses up to that time had been made in vain, that the vessels were unfit for battle, that they should be destroyed and other vessels of different types and better adapted to the purposes should be built. Between the years 1876–1885 the arsenals were properly supplied. All this was done solely for defence, and not for a war of aggression (which nobody wants in Italy). This will be evident on comparing the expenses of our army and navy with those of other European nations. In 1888-9, the most burdensome year for the army, the military expenses amounted to 18 francs for each head, while they were 20 for Germany, 21 for Great Britain, and 25 for France.

Having mentioned France, it may not be inopportune to refer to the exceptional efforts of that country. The French Republic has, since 1870, increased the war budget from 420 to 735 millions of francs, and that of the navy from 182 to 254 millions. She applied, besides, in a special budget, the sum of 1,875 millions to military preparations. She did not content herself with this, however, and set aside, for the same purpose, another sum of 170 millions, by the laws of June and December, 1888.

These comparisons are remarkable ; but I am going to present some others which seem improbable, but which are, nevertheless, true. Italy is even less armed, in proportion to population, than the Helvetian Republic. Switzerland—a neutral State, guaranteed by all the governments of Europe, inaccessible, owing to its mountains—can mobilize 200,000 men, besides the landsturm, which counts also 200,000 men and can be levied whenever the defence of its territory should demand it.

Switzerland has a population of 3,000,000 souls, and Italy with a population of 31,500,000, should, therefore, have 4,200,000

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soldiers. But Italy has not got them and cannot have them. Italy can mobilize only 1,200,000 men, *i. e.*, hardly one-fifth of the number that the three powers on her frontier can place in the field.

These figures prove, clearly enough, that the armaments in Italy are not excessive, that they are for the defence of the country, and that they have no connection with the Triple Alliance. Even if Italy freed herself from the ties uniting her with the two neighboring empires she would still be obliged to maintain an army and navy. I may add that this army and navy ought to be more powerful, if Italy intended to exist independently of all international arrangements.

I can not advise isolation for my country under the existing conditions of Europe. Some position must be taken in the old world. Even if Italy wanted to be left alone, she would have to be prepared for eventualities; she must needs be strong enough to send two armies to the Alpine frontiers to oppose, if necessary, any probable enemy, and two fleets on her seas to protect her shores. Neutrality would be impossible in case of war (which, as I said before, seems inevitable) and it would, even if it were possible, have to be guarded. Belgium and Switzerland, being cognizant of this necessity, have not only reorganized their military strength, but have also voted many millions of francs for necessary fortifications.

Italy must, besides, not merely be prepared for possible foreign enemies, but also for her internal foes. In the capital of the kingdom we have the Pope, the pretendant to temporal power, who conspires, and would lend all his means to the success of that power which should attack the young kingdom.

Isolation harmed us in Berlin in 1878, since the two neighboring States strengthened themselves both in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. France occupied Tunis in 1881 by the consent of the great powers, to the disadvantage of Italy. Austria threatened to reoccupy the Quadrilateral, and Bismarck made peace with the Pope and would not have failed to show him favors if his policy could have been promoted by him.

There are those who entertain an erroneous opinion of the Triple Alliance, guided by the French press, which is interested in depicting, in black colors, to those whom it believes, or professes to believe, to be the enemies of France. Austria and Ger-

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many have, since October, 1879, united for mutual defence. Italy sought, in February, 1882, and obtained, after protracted negotiations, an alliance with the two empires. The treaty, renewed in 1887 by Count di Robilant, and in 1891 by the Marquis di Rudini, is only a treaty of defence and its object is only a guaranty of the integrity of the territories of the three monarchies.

The adversaries of this Triple Alliance pretend that this Alliance imposes military duties and pledges for special armaments. Nothing of the kind! This arrangement is not, and never was, necessary. The Allies have not entered into an aggressive alliance, and, as they do not even know what enemy may attack them, no participation of forces can, as yet, be imagined under the hypothesis of a war breaking out against any one of them. Each of them must judge of its own obligations, and hence adapt its own strength for defence.

It is altogether wrong to say that, in consequence of this treaty of alliance, and since 1882, the taxes have been increased in Italy for the purpose of providing for armaments. Not a single new tax has been decreed by Parliament during the last ten years; on the contrary, some taxes have been abolished. The financial disorder—which is, however, not so grave as has been described—is of an economical character, and (as I said above) originated in a faulty method of distributing taxation.

The history of the Italian finances records moments more critical than the present, and yet the country overcame them. But France was then not unfriendly, and was not interested in discrediting us before the world.

There were years, before 1876, in which the maximum of deficits exceeded 700 millions. It was, besides, in the first decade of the Kingdom, during the heroic period in which national unity was established, when it was necessary, in order to supply the deficiency of income, to provide three milliards of francs by the sale of public domain and the emission of bonds.

The ministers asked, for a number of years, for the consent of the nation to these measures, and it responded to their demand willingly and without complaining. Nor were the sacrifices made in vain. Finances began to improve in 1877; the balance closed for a few years with a surplus; but the deficits have re-appeared since 1885, though in a much smaller proportion than between the years of 1862–1876.

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The deficits originate more from the diminution of receipts than from the increase of expenses. The idea of popular financiering obtained prevalence in 1878, and the Ministers undertook to change some of the taxes. This change was badly conceived, and badly carried out, so that its effects were greatly injurious to the treasury of the State. The tax on flour was abolished by the law of 1879, that on the other cereals in 1880. This was followed, in 1885 and 1886, by the reduction of the price of salt and the suppression of the war-tithes or land-tax. These laws withdrew from the treasury an income of 148 millions, which would, by natural increase, now amount to more than 160 millions.

It is true that, as an offset to the reduced or abolished taxes, others were decreed (especially on luxuries), but they did not answer the purpose. The income derived from them does not equal the former receipts, nor is it as constant.

The direct taxes—and that on flour was also a direct tax, owing to its mode of collection—are the surest, and the government can count on them. It is otherwise with indirect taxes which are variable, as it were, since they depend on a variety of circumstances that no ministry can control.

The last two Parliaments thought, by a change in taxation, to bring relief to the taxpayers and to rehabilitate the finances of the State—neither of which benefits has been attained. The reform was not successful, but has rather caused disaster to the national exchequer.

These errors in the system of taxation—the consequences of which are still felt—were aggravated by the publication of laws imposing additional expenses on the State.

A bill was brought before Parliament in 1878, the very year in which the change of taxation was suggested, for the reorganization of the railroads, involving an outlay exceeding half a milliard. As the net of railroads was to be extended in successive years, other lines were decreed which will cost about three milliards. It cannot be said that no such work was done before, since from 1861-67 similar laws were enacted by Parliament for piercing the Alps between the two seas, and providing railroads for Sardinia and Sicily. Whilst we are discussing this point, let me give some data to show what has been done in this branch of the public service.

In 1861—the year of the establishment of the new kingdom—



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Italy had 2,561 kilometres of railroads; now there are 15,600. The expense increased to 4,300 millions.

Nor were the expenses for other public works (such as ordinary roads, ports, improvements of land, and the bettering of rivers) less great. There were credited in 1862 for these works 23 millions of francs in the State treasury; this amount was increased in 1890 to 69 millions. An extraordinary sum of 678 millions has been added for these works during the last decade.

All this will certainly benefit national development, but it cannot be denied that, for the time being, the State exchequer is seriously affected by it. These expenses have been a great burden on our economical strength, so that the last ministry (that of Rudini) was compelled to reduce them.

But this does not suffice. A new arrangement in taxation is required, if the laws enacted from 1879 to 1886 are to be maintained. The effect of these laws has been pernicious, as, without them, the Italian treasury could have counted on a sum which, from January 1, 1884, to end of 1891, may be calculated to amount to 1,200 millions of francs. This sum would not merely have upheld the balance, but have yielded a surplus.

The true cause of the financial disorder of the kingdom of Italy will become evident from what has been stated above. The armaments did not influence it, much less the Triple Alliance, the organization of the army and navy, as well as the other preparations for national defence, being entirely independent thereof. Let us now look at the condition of our finances.

The deficit for the financial budget of 1892–1893, as shown by the documents presented to the Chambers by the Ministry of Rudini, amounts, in round numbers, to 46 millions, and for the budget of 1893–1894, to 65 millions. These figures comprise the expenses for the railroads, which are no longer to be charged to the State credit. The extraordinary military expenses are not included, which cannot exceed 15 millions of francs, in case they are limited to what is urgently required, and if there is no intention of supplying the soldiers with new guns of small calibre. Whenever the government shall decide on the construction of the new gun, it shall be expedient to do so by the sale of bonds, which method would also be preferable in the construction of railways.

In truth, such a deficit in a balance of 1,700 millions is not so

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grave as to justify alarm. A people of thirty-one millions has the power, if it is willing, to find the way out of these difficulties. The kingdom of Italy—as said before—had twelve times as great financial disorders before and knew how to settle them without the world noticing it. And even to-day nobody would have taken any notice of them, if a certain journalism had not, for political ends, been anxious to throw, with ungenerous persistency, discredit upon a nation the future of which seems to be a menace to some people.

Italy is continually progressing, both morally and economically. Its wealth is on the increase; they deceive or wish to deceive themselves, who say that that wealth is exhausted. It suffices to consult our statistics of to-day and to compare them with those of 1861 and 1864, to understand the progress made since then.

I stated that we had 2,561 kilometres of railways in 1861: to-day we have 15,600 kilometres. Our steamers on the sea numbered hardly 80, with a capacity of 18,000 tons, when the new kingdom began its existence; there are now 290 of them, with a capacity of 187,000 tons. The same progress is seen in our international commerce, which, in 1861, had a value of 1,406 millions (in imports and exports) and has increased to-day to a value of two milliards.

The production of cereals rose from 71,303,000 hectolitres in 1862 to 94,245,000 in 1890; that of wine—one of Italy's special exports—amounted, in 1862, to 24,003,000 hectolitres, and reached 36,760,000 hectolitres in 1890.

As to mechanical industries Italy was tributary to foreign countries. She progressed slowly, and while ten years ago she produced annually to the value of 80 millions of francs, to-day she produces 100 millions. The textile industries were not less fortunate. We produced so little that our fabrics did not suffice for domestic consumption. We now begin to export to foreign markets, and the export of 184,000 kil. in 1887 has increased to 270,000 kil. in 1891. Wages have advanced in proportion to increased production. Fourteen centesimi per hour were paid in 1861, now we pay twenty-five. It should be noted, also, that this economic movement has greatly benefited the working classes and increased capital. The advantage of saving money was unknown up to 1861. The first savings-banks yielded, in fact, such small results

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that they were not worth mentioning. But, nowadays, progress is sure and continuous. The deposits amounted, in 1872, to 465 millions, and in 1889 to 1,787 millions.

Another proof of improved conditions is presented, finally, in the decrease of emigration. In comparing the first three months of 1891 with those of 1892 we find that in 1891, 34,058 individuals emigrated permanently and 49,071 temporarily; in 1892, permanent emigration embraced only 25,337, and temporary 48,847 people.

These statements will not fail to enlighten public opinion in the great Union, and to place slanders in the proper light.

My words express a deep conviction, and the facts presented cannot be disputed. My figures will not astound the great people of the new world, but they will convince my readers that Italy, within the few years of her national existence, has progressed, and has not disappointed her friends, who would have felt regret if the old land of civilization—the mother of arts and sciences—had not fulfilled the duties of a great nation.

CRISPI.

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# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

## A TILT AT A BLACK MONSTER.

IN OLDEN days, when symbol was a prominent factor in material and spiritual life, there resulted many conditions which had good reasons for being. A setting of dramatic effectiveness accompanied almost every action. The popular mind was moved by object lessons; for man had not yet progressed beyond the demonstrative age. But little by little this aspect changed. The matter-of-fact superseded the romantic, until at last the individual and the state hardened into the present mould of materialism. Iconoclastic hammers beat against the gates of every temple; a call arose for originality in thought and repression in conduct. Pruning scissors nipped at all conventionality, from costume to sentiment, until there came to be small reverence and less precedent; the boldness and freedom that dared revolt was the first requisite of mental behavior. We learned to dote upon eccentricity, whatever form it assumed—which was fortunate, since realism often gave an extremely ugly fetish for worship. The dominant chord of what might be termed intellectual etiquette was struck when old rules were broken, or old authority reviled.

In the face of such revolution, how can we account for the tenacity with which some of those earlier customs still retain their hold? Why do we continue to wear mourning, for instance? Under the ancient régime there was doubtless a certain appropriateness between the forms of such dress and the usages from which they were established. These are still maintained among semi-civilized nations. The white-robed Chinese withdraws even from official public duty while he wears the garb of sorrow; the Japanese remains in absolute privacy; the Feejee Islander hides his burned body and mutilated hands from sight. The Greeks, the Romans, the Syrians, the Persians, mourned their dead in remote and solitary places. There was probably a time when, even for us, pleasure was made to halt at sight of crape wrappings, and when the "inky cloak" really personified the gulf between the world and the mourner.

How is it to-day? The most conservative devotee of conventionalism would find himself strangely put about to carry out such a programme. Propriety has yielded to the eager knocking of the world at its doors, and to its importunate demands upon the attention which is still, under the sombre veil of its funereal trappings, supposed to be immovably fixed upon the contemplation of death. Human nature is weak. We rarely find the summons totally unheeded. So the uniform of retirement comes to be seen in conspicuous places. It is found in the streets, the shops, the lecture-room, the concert hall. We even meet it—in some of those shadings of graded grief prescribed by the rigorous dictum of fashion—assisting at afternoon teas, and those other functions of insipid entertainment which make up the somewhat unchristian year of this end of the century. How can one who has ever known the crushing but refining grace of sorrow bear this wretched travesty, which seems to measure for the public eye its successive stages of consolation? Or is there some special spiritual affinity between

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judicious combinations of white and gray and violet, and the healing of a stricken soul? How the honesty of grief must shrink from this lie of apparent forgetfulness!

Or must we insult nature by assuming that it is necessary to keep desolate memory true to its task. Would the heart wander without sight of the sable garment? How otherwise can we bear to make public the most personal hurt humanity has to bear,—the one grief which intimately and only concerns one's self? We do not wear some peculiar mark to blazen forth suffering to our honor, or loss to our estate, or taint upon our morality. Yet society has much more to do with such misfortune than with our beloved dead. Why should we challenge the attention of the world to the one sorrow in which it has least interest?

Suppose we beg the question and allow that there is some occult harmony between black and consolation. There are still exceptions to be taken. Why must the widow and orphan be forced to choose a certain brand of cloth, a certain species of fur, a certain finish of ruche and lace? Or why should what is eminently proper this season be unfit for last year or the next? And what of the intrusion of worldliness which the preparation of these "customary suits of solemn black" thrusts into the first moments of bereavement. Those few precious hours of communion left on earth, to be broken in upon by questions of fit and style, by suggestions of quality and modishness from persons to whom your anguish is matter of curiosity only or speculation! What of the nervous depression from which so many sensitive natures suffer under the spiritual and material weight of those sombre trappings. What of cost—the matter of so little moment to the few, but of such anxious stress to the many. The whims or weakness of the rich woman lays a bitter cross upon the already overburdened shoulders of her poorer sister here; for the robing which is but etiquette for the one, becomes enforced religious duty for the other. The laws of caste among the Hindoos are not more rigid than those which bind such observances on the class least able to conform to them. It adds new horror to the deathbed of poverty—this knowledge of the inexorable force which will oblige the wife to spend her last cent, or to pawn her scant household plenishing, for the black which must be worn until it drops away from dirt and age.

To sum up in brief: the custom is outworn; it is an anachronism in the nineteenth century. It is unchristian; it clouds the spiritual significance of the resurrection with the ever-present expression of temporal loss. It is cruel; it forces helpless and innocent people into action which entails privation and unnecessary suffering. It is untruthful; it makes false outward show of changes in sentiment. And it is essentially vulgar; for it presses private affairs upon public notice; it thrusts claims of fashion and frivolity upon a time which most greatly moves the heights and depths of being; and it forces its superficial worldliness into the fiercest throes which can ever rend human nature. Why then do we still wear mourning?

MARY ELIZABETH BLAKE.

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## THE ENGLISH REPORTER.

DURING a long and varied experience of newspaper work on both sides of the Atlantic, it has struck me that the American newspaper man, particularly the reporter, has a much more interesting and eventful career than the English reporter. Both are engaged in the collection of news, but the

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methods adopted vary very considerably, and so does the training for the work. As a rule, the English reporter comes to the work earlier than the American. He begins his life as early as sixteen or seventeen years of age, in fact, at as early an age as he would be allowed without detriment to his morals to attend the police court and sit out the cases which come before the magistrates. The English reporter always begins his career in the police courts, thus reversing the order observed in American newspaper offices, where police work is usually assigned to the more experienced men. Our reporters are very largely drawn from the composing rooms of small country offices. University graduates seldom become reporters in England; they do not go in for press work to anything like the extent they do in America. When they do take up newspaper work they are usually over twenty-three years of age; most of them have some influence behind them, and secure positions as sub-editors—copy readers as they would be called in America—or as secretaries and general factotums to editors. They thus obtain their start in journalism without going through the training and experience, both of work and life, which fall to the lot of the reporter. I have a wide acquaintance with newspaper men of all ranks and grades in London and in our large provincial towns, and cannot call to mind half a dozen University men on the press who began their careers as reporters. In fact, the number of university men finding positions on English newspapers is not at all large; as outside contributors or free lances, very many men of this class add something to their own incomes.

Two of our London morning newspapers—the *Times* and the *Morning Post;* two of our evening papers—the *St. James's Gazette* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and in the provinces, one paper in Manchester, one in Sheffield, and another in Bristol are edited by university graduates. In these three provincial cases, the editors went straight from the university to the editorial chair, owing to the fact that the positions had been held open for them, their fathers or some near relatives having been the owners of the papers. Until within eighteen months only two London daily journals were edited by university men—the *Times* and the *Morning Post.* Neither Mr. Stead who edited the *Pall Mall Gazette*, nor Mr. Frederic Greenwood, who edited the *St. James's Gazette*, is a University man. But when Mr. Stead left the *Pall Mall Gazette* to establish the *Review of Reviews*, he was succeeded by a university graduate, and the same thing happened when Mr. Frederic Greenwood resigned the editorial chair of the *St. James's Gazette.* The university men actively associated with the London daily press can almost be counted on one's fingers, and as a general thing the London press still recruits its staff men from among those who have begun life either in the composing room or with the city editor.

Stenography is the key to a commencing position on almost any English newspaper, a fact which in itself accounts for much of the dulness and sameness of our journals when contrasted with those of America, where stenography is at a discount, and little room is found for a reporter who relies solely upon his ability to take down a speech in shorthand and write it out for the compositor with fair speed and accuracy. There are hundreds of reporters on the London and provincial daily and weekly newspaper press who have been trained after the English fashion, and who, if they were transplanted to America, would not get a second assignment from a city editor on any enterprising paper. The training these men have had in England would be worse than useless to them in America. There is such

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a sameness in the way of doing English reporting that the English training, in five cases out of six, knocks all the individuality out of young men, and keeps them hopelessly down to the level of the mere shorthand writer. Any American visiting London who has attended a meeting at St. James's Hall or at the Holborn Town Hall, will have been struck with this on reading the reports in the morning papers the next day. The introductory sentences seldom vary except in a few verbal details, and then come the shorthand writer's summaries of the chairman's speech and of those of the subsequent speakers. In none of the reports is there any attempt to describe the meeting or the spirit which actuated and characterized it. The ordinary London reporter does not regard this as within his duty. If he is instructed to do a column report of the meeting, he relies upon his shorthand notes for every line of it after he has stated, in a short and stereotyped introduction, where the meeting was held, what it was called for, who was in the chair and how many people attended.

The same style of work characterizes all our newspapers, from the *Times's* report of a St. James's Hall meeting in London to the report in the *Little Peddlington Gazette* of the meeting held in the Little Peddlington Town Hall. If he is safe as regards his shorthand, the reporter who has done the Little Peddlington meeting for his paper can do the St. James's Hall meeting for the *Times*, or take a turn in the Press Gallery of the House of Commons. His shorthand, however, must be unimpeachable, as the speakers themselves will complain of any inaccuracies that may have crept into the report of their speeches. This constitutes almost the whole training of the English reporter. If some daring reporter on an English paper, happening to possess some individuality, were to strike out in a different line, he would be snubbed and in all probability called upon to write out another report after the time-honored and stereotyped fashion.

In America, I have frequently heard people say that they never saw an old reporter, and express wonder as to what became of reporters after they reached thirty-five or forty years of age. No one who knows Fleet Street intimately would make such a remark concerning English reporters. There are hundreds of men in London and all over England between fifty and sixty-five years of age, who are still at work as reporters, and are turning in their copy exactly as they did thirty or forty years ago, when they were sent to do their first "turn" at the Police Court, or to attend their first meeting of the Town Council. By this time they are no doubt more adept at their work, but the work itself is characterized by no more individuality or originality than their very earliest efforts. Men of this class, even when not advanced in years, would be hopeless failures in America. Many of them have never in their lives turned in a special, or written an account of anything to which they were not assigned, and would be all at sea if their stenography were no longer available. They could not comprehend the dictum of the Chicago city editor, who instructs new members of his staff that any incident in the street which causes twenty people to pause to see what is going on, is, if neatly handled, good enough for a news item. They know nothing of "scoops" or "exclusives;" they are ignorant of the pleasurable intoxication arising from a really good scoop, and alike also of the wrath of the city editor and the gloom and depression which follow being scooped. If English reporters of this type were put on the unassigned list on an American paper, and told to turn in specials to be paid on space, they would not earn their car fares.

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The life of reporters in London is much easier-going than in New York or Boston, and needs far less alertness and brains; but there is not half the adventure connected with it that there was even twenty-five years ago. Nowadays the ordinary reporters are seldom sent beyond the city limits. All the papers take the services of the press association and of kindred news-gathering organizations, and thereby cut off their own staffs from the travel and incident which they enjoyed in the days when telegraphy was in its infancy and each newspaper sent its own men up and down the country. When Parliament is out of session, there are many men attached to the London morning papers whose day's work is represented by a twenty line paragraph. The interview is being gradually adopted in London, and, to some small extent, it is introducing a little more incident into the work of newspaper reporters. We have not yet gone the length of sending a reporter to a manufacturer or a merchant to ask whether it is true that his notes have been stopped at the bank, as it was once my fate to do in St. Louis. But we are moving in that direction. A week or two ago, the *Globe* sent a reporter to ask the managing editor of the *Daily Telegraph* whether it was true that this paper was about to desert the Unionist cause. That was rather a domestic question, and so were those which a few days later were put to Messrs. Ingram Bros., of the *Illustrated London News*, who were asked by the interviewer whether it was true that their mother, an old lady of 80, was about to marry Sir Edward Watkin, M. P., the Jay Gould of the English railway system, who is 74 years of age.

There is not nearly so much *esprit de corps* among the English reporters attached to the same journal as there is in America. The newspaper offices in London have no large halls in which the reporters meet the city editors, write out their copy, and associate with one another. Reporters on the same staff frequently do not see each other for weeks together. The instructions as to assignments are sent to reporters by mail, and all that is necessary is that the work should reach the office in reasonable time. The men write out their copy at home or at their clubs, send it in by messenger, and sometimes do not themselves go near the office from one pay day to another. Nor is there anything like the same loyalty to work and to paper among English reporters as there is among American. "The Manchester *Guardian* does not want zeal, it wants a column," is a remark attributed to one of the London reporters of that journal, who, while attending a meeting at Westminster, was apprised that another meeting of great importance to his paper had been unexpectedly called in an adjoining room. The reporter had been instructed to do a column of the meeting he was at, and it was no concern of his if another meeting of equal importance was missed altogether. It has been said of another well-known journalist, who is now an editor, that in his reporting days, if he had been returning from a trivial meeting at the Mansion House, and had noticed on his way to Fleet Street that St. Paul's Cathedral was on fire, he would not have thought of apprising the city editor of the fact.

EDWARD PORRITT.

## RAILWAY SAFETY APPLIANCES.*

THE publication of statistics giving the number of casualties to employees in railway service has led to a demand for legislation to compel the

* See in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for February, 1892, the articles "A Year of Railroad Accidents," by Col. H. G. Prout, and "A Perilous Business and the Remedy," by the Hon. H. C. Lodge

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use of appliances for their protection. Persistent faith in such remedial legislation is unaffected by the existence of many statutes which are impotent because they were hastily devised to meet a popular demand and were not suited to the condition of affairs which they were intended to remedy.

In this case public interest has been aroused by statements as to the number of casualties which occur in coupling cars, amounting in the year ending June 30, 1890, to 369 killed and 7,842 injured out of a total number of 182,703 men so employed. These figures are indeed suggestive of affliction and suffering and may well induce us to seek a remedy. But in seeking that remedy we must first consider the cause. These casualties result from the exposure by the men of their limbs or their bodies between the cars, and the remedy lies in avoiding the exposure. With the ordinary form of coupler this was attempted by furnishing employees with sticks to guide the coupling links into position while they stand out of the line of the cars. In many cases the men refused to avail themselves of these sticks, for they looked upon their use as cowardice—so it was evident that they could only be kept from between the cars by the adoption of some device that would admit of coupling by impact. This matter had the attention of the railway companies as early as 1869, when, at the meeting of the Master Car Builders Association, Mr. Adams, now of the Boston & Albany Railroad, said, "It is a duty that we owe to the companies that we represent, and a duty that we owe to our fellow-men who are necessarily placed in positions that endanger them, to adopt some height that will be uniform." In 1873 a committee of this Association reported upon the desirability of adopting a standard self-coupler, and at the meeting in 1878 attention was called to the importance of having the several patterns of self-couplers to couple interchangeably.

In 1888 the Janney type was adopted by a vote of 474 to 194, and the Executive Committee undertook to establish "the contour lines of this type, and the preparation of the drawings and templets which would definitely determine and exhibit the standard of the Association." With the publica- of these lines the standard of the Association was fixed; there were some further matters of detail to be decided, and in 1889 the Master Car Builders' type of coupler was formally adopted in all respects as the standard coupler of the Association. Some organized action was now necessary on the part of the managing officers of the railroad companies to make the action of their technical officials effective. This was sought to be accomplished through the American Railway Association, an organization of railroad companies formed some years ago "for the development and solution of problems connected with railroad management in the mutual interest of the railroad companies of America." At first organized as the General Time Convention, its success in the establishment of standard time and of a standard code of train rules led to a recognition of its usefulness in a broader sphere, and it now represents a membership of over 130,000 miles of railroad mileage out of the total of over 170,000 miles in this country.

At a meeting of this Association in April, 1890, attention was called to this matter by the President, who said: "There are improvements in methods and appliances now passing from the experimental stage, in which they are properly the subjects for consideration in technical associations, to the stage in which the responsible managements of our railroad systems must decide whether they will recognize them as sufficiently valuable for general adoption."

In October, 1890, the Committee on Safety Appliances recommended the

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adoption of the Master Car Builders' type of coupler as the standard of its members. Out of fifty companies voting but two dissented, so it may be said that in 1890 this coupler was recognized by the railroad companies of this country as their standard, so far as this could be done by their organized action. From statistics recently obtained by this Association we have reason to believe that couplers of the Master Car Builders' type have now been applied to 200,000 cars, or about one-fifth of the freight cars in service, and also to 25,000 cars now under contract. From what is here stated it will be seen that the railroad companies through their technical officials have devised a type of coupler which does not require the introduction of body or limb between the cars in the process of coupling or of uncoupling. The device is manipulated by a rod, one end of which projects beyond the car body in such a position that it can be safely handled even by a person unaccustomed to its use.

Under this statement of facts what is to be accomplished through compulsory legislation? The answer may be given in the language of the Massachusetts Railroad Commission: "Those who urged that there should be no legislation at all on the subject claimed that the railroad companies were proceeding in the development and adoption of automatic couplers as rapidly as possible, and that any legislation would be likely to saddle upon the country some unsatisfactory and imperfect device; would impose upon the railroad companies great expense and no corresponding benefit to the employees, and would in fact be a bar to progress towards perfection. This argument is of weight and should not be disregarded, unless the circumstances are of a nature so exceptional as to justify a departure from a principle of legislation which for many years has been generally adhered to in this State with satisfactory results."

There can be no justification for legislation upon this subject unless it can be shown that the railroad companies will not voluntarily protect their employees from injury by the adoption of some device which has been proven in actual service to fulfil this purpose. That they will not voluntarily adopt such a device has been assumed by some of the advocates of compulsory legislation who, apparently in ignorance of what has been done, propose various measures for the protection of employees. One plan is that the proper form of coupler shall be determined by vote of the organizations of switchmen and trainmen, and a bill embodying this idea has been submitted to a Congressional committee. Its utter impracticability can be readily shown. There are but two types of coupler in actual use—the link-and-pin and the Master Car Builders' vertical-hook type. The former cannot be used with power brakes on freight trains. This narrows down the choice to the Master Car Builders' type or "something better." If any other device besides the link and pin is in actual use, it is unknown to railroad managers. How then can a vote of employees determine anything not already determined by the railroad companies?

Another plan is to seek the desideratum with the aid of a commission to be composed of railroad employees, mechanical experts, and unemployed statesmen, which, at the public expense, is to select or cause to be invented something better than the Master Car Builders' coupler.

But the railroad companies cannot be expected to disregard the experience acquired by their technical officials, to abandon the coupler which embodies years of investigation and thought, and to reject the organized action of the managing officials of 130,000 miles of railroad. Admitting

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this, what would compulsory legislation accomplish except perhaps to hasten the application of the Master Car Builders' type of coupler upon the equipment of those companies not members of the Association? Those companies which are members will assert that they are proceeding with the work as rapidly as circumstances will warrant.

The cost of standard couplers for the 900,000 cars now equipped with link-and-pin couplers will not be far from $25,000,000, and this expenditure cannot, in many cases, be provided for from income account. The narrowing margin between the rate and cost per ton mile will not permit of it. The means must then be obtained from capital account by the sale of stocks or bonds. If the condition of the money market be unfavorable for placing these securities how can compulsory legislation aid in finding a purchaser?

There are those who admit that the companies, members of the American Railway Association, have discharged their duty toward their employees in adopting the Master Car Builders' type of coupler, but who insist on legislation to compel its adoption by companies not members of that Association. The advocates of this policy should consider that the coupler question did not pass out of the experimental stage until the action of the American Rail way Association in October, 1890. To railroad managers the progress already made is a satisfactory assurance that the work will go on without any compulsion beyond that to be derived from the pressure of public opinion and the growing recognition of the advantages to follow from falling in with general practice. These forces have been strong enough to compel the adoption of a uniform system of coupling passenger trains with couplers of the Master Car Builders' type, and the opponents of compulsory legislation can fairly maintain that what has been accomplished with passenger cars can be accomplished with freight cars.

A penal statute concerning technical matters should carry with the penalty to those who disregard its provisions some protection to those who obey them. Are the advocates of penal legislation prepared to relieve railroad corporations from responsibility for damages to those injured while using the devices prescribed by such legislation? A statute defective in this respect might be sustained in the courts, but it would be none the less injustice under the guise of law.

There is another reason why it is to the public interest not to interfere by legislation in the mechanical operations of a railroad. Any attempt of the kind has the effect of paralyzing progress in that particular direction. It serves to dull the inventive mind and to petrify the art at the stage which it has reached at that time. The wonderful development in the construction and operation of railroads in this country as compared with the progress made in those countries in which the details of management are under government regulation furnishes overwhelming testimony to the fact just stated,—and American legislators may well pause before committing themselves to a policy which the Massachusetts Railroad Commission says is "a departure from a principle of legislation which for many years has been generally adhered to in this State with satisfactory results."

H. S. HAINES,
President of the American Railway Association.

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## THE PEACEFUL CONQUEST OF NEW ENGLAND.

AT THE moment when the readers of the nation are rejoicing in the completion of Mr. Parkman's story of the conquest of France by England

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in the New World more than a century ago, our attention is called to a singularly persistent and slowly successful effort on the part of the people of what was once called New France to make a conquest, under the joint appeals of patriotism and religion, of New England.

Statements in regard to this matter are not new. The conquest has been a matter of observation to any one who has watched the resettlement of the rural districts of the New England States, or who has made himself acquainted with the way in which the French-Canadians have established themselves in its large towns and manufacturing centres, and an Andover professor, Dr. Egbert C. Smyth, has recently made a careful study of the steps in this conquest from the original documents in the proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. He calls his paper "The French-Canadians in New England," and in it he shows that there are at the present time about 400,000 French-Canadians, almost entirely Roman Catholics, in New England, and that they hold property to the value of nearly $22,000,000. These people are engaged in a great variety of occupations. Dr. Smyth says: "A very large proportion work in the shoe, cotton, or other factories, but no one of the ordinary trades or professions seems to be unappropriated. Besides carpenters, clothiers, grocers, bakers, and other dealers in the necessaries or customary conveniences, the ordinary arts are well represented, and enterprise has extended itself to a great variety of business employments. There are also commissioners af various kinds, justices of the peace, sheriffs, policemen, health officers, city councillors, inspectors of customs, registrars, members of legislatures, notaries, lawyers, doctors, journalists, teachers, and clergymen." This means that they are in all the walks of life, and that they have come to stay.

If, like the Irish-Americans, they had come among us with their fine instincts of patriotism ready to be enkindled in favor of the institutions of the country in which they proposed to live, and if they had shown this in learning the language and in taking an interest in our schools and in the different ways in which their children, if not themselves, could be made acquainted with our social and political life, we could find no fault with their citizenship or their intentions; but in the spirit which they manifest and in the confession of their ultimate object in the somewhat extended literature which they have already published, it is seen that they under the lead of French-Canadian priests who are confessedly aiming at the repeopling and reconstruction of New England.

The plan is to push the French-Canadians to the highest point of prolific families, and to make it a religious duty to hold intact the system of religious absolutism in which they have been educated. New England is the paradise of the poor French-Canadian. By insisting that marriages shall be contracted early, and by placing the women who shall be the mothers of the largest number of children on the list of public benefactors, the French of the old régime have almost crowded the English out of the Province of Quebec, so that the French race and the Roman Catholic Church are almost supreme in that part of Canada.

For more than a generation the same tactics have been employed in securing the permanent settlement of the French-Canadians in the parts of New England most favorable to their industrial success and to the creation and support of large families. At first, the Roman Catholic bishops in the New England States did not favor this emigration. It was looked upon also by the authorities at Quebec as likely to endanger the souls of their people;

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but now it is taken up with the zeal of a crusade, and great encouragement is offered to all the French-Canadians who are ready and willing to settle in New England; and to all appearance Quebec is brought down bodily with its parish, its church, its presbytery, its convent, and parochial school, and planted at the centres of New England life, without the slightest idea of adjusting anything in its system to the new conditions which surround it. The people are looked after by the parochial clergy and by itinerant priests, and every effort is made to hold them to their traditional faith, their native language, and all their characteristic ideas and habits.

The religions associations of these people are distinctly arranged to keep them closely together. Their motto is, "*Notre Religion, Notre Langue, et Nos Moeurs.*" There are 210 of these societies in New England, with 30,540 members. The rule is that each member must be a French-Canadian, speak the French language, and belong to the Roman Catholic Church. They cannot belong to any society that the Church does not approve of. They may be loyal to the government of the United States, but their hearts must remain true to their first loves, their own nationality, and to the customs, traditions, aspirations, and faith in which they have been bred as French-Canadians. They are a solid French unit under the control of their priests, a body that can be employed for political as well as ecclesiastical purposes, and with a distinctly religious end in view. They come from a stock that has the inherent power to root out and overcome other races—the Scandinavian stock that created Normandy in France, and that has the power to change New England into New France when it can send its roots down into the soil. They represent the same stock that has led in racial contests in the old world through many centuries. Their characteristic qualities are seen with distinctness in parishes and in districts in Canada to-day, and it is these people whom the priests have inspired with the idea that their children are to be men of destiny, and that their mission is to make the peaceful conquest of New England in the generations of the future. While we do not wish to be alarmists, it cannot be denied that Dr. Smyth makes out a strong case, and that the dangers which threaten New England, if not immediate, are much more serious than one would like to confess. The solidity and the power to march like a regiment into the heart of the country make these people formidable, and so long as they are able to reject the English language and the public school, they will be beyond the influences which will make them the right kind of American citizens.

JULIUS H. WARD.

## ORIENTAL PILGRIMAGES AND CHOLERA.

THERE has been recently issued from the government printing office a volume of 945 pages, a "Report on Cholera in Europe and India," by Dr. Edward O. Shakespeare, who was appointed a special United States Commissioner in 1885 to go abroad and "make investigation of the causes, progress, and proper prevention and cure" of cholera. Not in the way of criticism upon this excellent report, but rather as a corollary to it and to previous literature on the spread of cholera, I offer some suggestions. Two facts are noteworthy: (1). From the earliest history of the disease, whenever it has entered any country outside of India, cholera could be traced back to its home in Bengal. (2). Whenever it has invaded Western Asia, Africa, Europe, or North or South America, it has been traceable to pilgrims and their usual routes of travel to and from their pilgrimages to Mecca, Hurdwar, Meschid and Kiev. Six times in seventy years has cholera gone out of Bengal and spread

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to Europe by the two great pilgrim routes. These two routes are: (1). From Calcutta and other parts of Bengal up the Ganges to the sacred city of Hurdwar, on the direct land route to the Caspian and Black seas and the Russian frontier. (2). From Bengal through India to Bombay and thence to Mecca. Given an outbreak of cholera at Hurdwar or at Mecca and the civilized world is endangered for from one to five years.

We know that cholera has never originated anywhere else than in India; that it has never been carried from India to Europe by the direct water route; that it has never appeared in America until after Europe was infected; and that every infection of Egypt, Europe, and America is traceable to infected pilgrims from India. The land route of cholera to Europe is from Calcutta and other parts of Bengal up the Ganges to Hurdwar, at the source of the river at the base of the Himalaya Mountains. At least half a million people—mostly pilgrims—are at Hurdwar in April of each year, and about 3,000,000 every twelfth year.

To Meschid, the holy city of Persia, west of Herat, during eight months of the year, pilgrims come by tens of thousands from India and Afghanistan, Turkey in Asia, the Caucasus, the shores of the Black and the Caspian seas, and from all over Persia. The Indian pilgrims take the land route *via* Hurdwar, Cabul, and Herat, or the land and water route *via* the Persian Gulf and across Persia. To Mecca go pilgrims from all parts of Northern Africa, from points in Southeastern Europe, from Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, India, Buchara, and other Oriental points. Between Bengal and Europe, then, there are three centres of infection, each one, so to speak, a cholera metropolis.

In 1826 cholera spread out of its endemic area in Bengal. Going through Afghanistan and Persia it reached Orenburg, to the north of the Caspian Sea, in 1829, and thence entered Russia, where it raged in 1830. In 1831 pilgrims carried it from India to Mecca, where it killed about half the pilgrims. Returning pilgrims carried it to Alexandria and Constantinople, whence it was carried to St. Petersburg, Sweden, Hamburg, and Northern Europe. In 1832 it entered France, causing 120,000 deaths, crossed to England and Ireland, and was sent to Quebec in five ships from London, Liverpool, Cork, Limerick, and Dublin.

In 1840-41 cholera went with a British force from Calcutta to China. Spreading through the Chinese and Burmese empires in 1841, 1842, and 1843, it passed westward through Kashgar to Buchara in 1843 and 1844, and on to Cabul. From Cabul it reached Russia, went through Europe, and appeared at Sunderland, England, in October, 1848. It was already in France, and from Havre it arrived at Staten Island on the "New York" on December 2, 1848, and at New Orleans on the "Swanton," from Havre, on December 11. On December 20 it reached Memphis by steamer, remained partly quiescent till spring, when it spread over the Mississippi Valley and to California.

In 1849-50 cholera was very fatal in Bengal, and extended to the Punjaub and into the central provinces. Following the two routes it extended from Bombay and the Punjaub into Persia and Arabia in 1851-52-53. It claimed 11,000 victims in Teheran, and entered Russia by the Caspian Sea route. Carried to Egypt by pilgrims, it went to Messina, where it caused 12,000 deaths; to France, 114,000 deaths; and to England, 16,000 deaths. In 1854 some emigrant ships carried it from Europe to New York, whence it extended over a part of the United States and Canada. The fourth epidemic that reached this country left Bengal in 1862-63. Carried from Bom-

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bay to the shores of the Red Sea by pilgrims, it broke out among the pilgrims at Mecca in December, 1864. Returning pilgrims carried it to Egypt. It broke out at Alexandria in May, 1865, whence it was carried to Europe. In 1866 it reached Halifax and New York, from which places it spread.

The great twelfth-year Juggernaut epidemic of 1841 had scarcely abated when the equally great Hurdwar epidemic of 1843 occurred. In 1844 cholera was in Afghanistan, and in May, 1845, it was at Kandahar, taking 300 lives a day. It reached Cabul in June and Herat in July. In February, 1846, it was carried to Meschid, whence it went east and west through Persia, following the great roads, reaching Astrabad in May and Teheran in June. Both in 1831 and in 1846 cholera appeared just at the time when pilgrims were flocking from all sides. Following the west coast of the Caspian Sea in November, 1846, it invaded the same towns as in 1823 and 1831. Here it remained until March, 1847, when it reappeared on the shores of the Caspian Sea. In May it was among the Cossacks, and then invaded Russia *via* Kherzon, at the mouth of the Dneiper.

Few have a definite idea of the destruction caused by cholera. In Egypt in 1883 it caused from 30,000 to 50,000 deaths in three months. Going to France it claimed 15,000 victims in 1884–86; Spain lost 180,000 people in 1884–85; Italy about 50,000 in 1884–87. The epidemic cost Europe about 250,000 people and about $500,000,000, according to Dr. Shakespeare.

For two years cholera, brought to Jeddah and Mecca by pilgrims, and distributed through El Hedjaz, had threatened Egypt. Both in 1881 and in 1882 it had followed and preyed upon Egyptian pilgrims on their return from Mecca. And Dr. Shakespeare, after carefully weighing all the evidence, concludes that "although it has been extremely difficult to absolutely trace the outbreak of cholera at Damietta in June of 1883 to direct introduction from India, there can be no reasonable doubt that such was its origin." It is generally stated that this epidemic first appeared in Europe at Toulon in 1884. But a report to the Department of State by the U. S. Consul at Marseilles leaves but little doubt that cholera was imported into that city directly from Egypt in 1883, and that its presence was successfully concealed until after the Toulon outbreak in 1884 and an investigation. It is possible that it was carried from Marseilles to Toulon in 1884. In November, 1886, it was carried from Genoa to Buenos Ayres, whence it spread to Chili, and in December from Italy to Montevideo. In the autumn of 1887 it was brought to New York on some French steamer from Marseilles, which had taken on emigrants at Naples, but efficient sanitary measures saved the country. Yet the germs might have been brought from Marseilles or Toulon before the presence of cholera was recognized or admitted in those cities. Or it might have been brought directly from Egypt in the winter or spring of 1883.

It is beyond human possibility to put India in good sanitary condition in any reasonable time, and to make the pilgrims observe the commonest rules of hygiene and cleanliness would require two soldiers for each pilgrim. The most riotous imagination could scarcely exaggerate the filth of India and Egypt and of the Hindoo and Mohammedan pilgrims, for when people use the same water for bathing, washing soiled clothes, and drinking, they are scarcely ripe for moral suasion. So long as the pilgrimages continue Europe and this country will be endangered and will be visited by cholera, in spite of the millions of dollars spent in precautionary measures. These millions should be spent in a definite and efficient manner.

PEORIA, Ill. WILLIAM G. EGGLESTON, M. D.

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